

THE
FIFTEENTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIETY

FOR
Colonizing the Free People of Colour

OF THE
UNITED STATES.

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WITH AN APPENDIX.

WASHINGTON:

.....
1832.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
AT THEIR
FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society was held on Monday evening, the 16th of January, in the Hall of the House of Representatives of the United States. At the hour appointed, (half past 6 o'clock) the Hall was filled to overflowing with an assembly comprising many of the Officers of Government, Members of both Houses of Congress, distinguished strangers and citizens, among whom were seen a large number of the fair Ladies of our Metropolis. Many were compelled to retire, being unable to obtain admission. The Hon. CHARLES FENTON MERCER, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, took the Chair.

The Rev. Dr. LAURIE, after the organization of the Meeting, addressed the Throne of Grace.

The following Gentlemen gave in their names as Delegates to the Meeting:—

From the Aux. Col. Society of Canfield, Trumbull county, Ohio.

HON. ELISHA WHITTLESEY.

From the Worcester County Col. Society, Mass.

HON. JAMES G. KENDALL.

From the Albemarle Colonization Society, Va.

THOMAS W. GILMER,

JAMES H. TERRIL.

From the Wilmington Society, Delaware.

HON. ARNOLD NAUDAIN.

From the Newark Col. Society, New Jersey.

HON. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN,

HON. SILAS CONDUCT.

From the Zanesville and Putnam County Society, Ohio.

HON. W. W. IRVIN.

From the Crawford County Society, Penn.

HON. JOHN BANKS.

From the N. H. State Colonization Society.

HON. SAMUEL BELL.

From the Washington Aux. Col. Society, Penn.

HON. THOMAS M'KENNON.

From Caldwell County Aux. Col. Society, N. C.

HON. C. LYON.

From the Westchester County Society, Penn.

JESSE KERZEY.

From the Society of Friends in N. Carolina.

JEREMIAH HUBBARD,

ALLEN HILL.

From the Georgetown Col. Society, D. C.

REV. JAMES M'VEAN,

JAMES DUNLOP, Esq.

THOMAS TURNER, Esq.

From the State Col. Society of Va.

HON. GOVERNOR TYLER,

HON. ANDREW STEPHENSON,

Chief Justice MARSHALL.

From the Alexandria Col. Society, D. C.

REV. MR. HARRISON,

HUGH C. SMITH, Esq.

Vermont State Col. Society.

HON. MR. PRENTISS,

HON. MR. SEYMOUR.

Windham County Society, Conn.

HON. MR. YOUNG.

From the Young Men's Missionary Society.

REV. MR. DURBIN.

Parts of the Annual Report of the Board of Managers, with the following highly interesting letters from the venerable Lafayette, Ex-President James Madison and Chief Justice Marshall,

were read by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, the Secretary, to whom they were addressed.

PARIS, October 29, 1831.

My Dear Sir: I am much obliged to you for the Reports you have the kindness to send. The progressing state of our Liberia establishment is to me a source of enjoyment, and the most lively interest. Proud as I am of the honor of being one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, I only regret that I cannot make myself more useful. Permit me to request every information in your power. My whole family join in the desire to receive, besides the Reports, the regular files of the Liberia Herald, extracts of which, we shall take care to have published.

Remember me to our friends, and believe me most truly, your affectionate friend,

LAFAYETTE.

When the Society meet, be pleased to present my wishes, gratitude, and respect.

MONTPELIER, December 29, 1831.

Dear Sir: I received, in due time, your letter of the 21st ult. and with due sensibility to the subject of it. Such, however, has been the effect of a painful rheumatism on my general condition, as well as in disqualifying my fingers for the use of the pen, that I could not do justice "to the principles and measures of the Colonization Society in all the great and various relations they sustain to our own country and to Africa," if my views of them could have the value which your partiality supposes. I may observe, in brief, that the Society had always my good wishes, though with hopes of its success less sanguine than were entertained by others found to have been the better judges; and, that I feel the greatest pleasure at the progress already made by the Society, and the encouragement to encounter remaining difficulties afforded by the earlier and greater ones already overcome. Many circumstances at the present moment seem to concur in brightening the prospects of the Society and cherishing the hope that the time will come, when the dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed and by means consistent with justice, peace and the general satisfaction: thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, and to the world the full benefit of its great example. I never considered the main difficulty of the great work as lying in the deficiency of emancipations, but in an inadequacy of asylums for such a growing mass of population, and in the great expense of removing it to its new home. The spirit of private manumission, as the laws may permit and the exiles may consent, is increasing and will increase; and there are sufficient indications that the public authorities in slave holding States are looking forward to interpositions in different forms that must have a powerful effect. With respect to the new abode for the emigrants, all agree that the choice made

by the Society is rendered peculiarly appropriate by considerations which need not be repeated, and if other situations should not be found eligible receptacles for a portion of them, the prospects in Africa seem to be expanding in a highly encouraging degree.

In contemplating the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the western lands of the Nation, which will soon entirely cease to be under a pledge for another object. The great one in question is truly of a national character, and it is known that distinguished patriots not dwelling in slave-holding States have viewed the object in that light and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it.

Should it be remarked that the States, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the colored population, they are not equally so; it is but fair to recollect, that the sections most to be benefitted, are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of.

I am aware of the constitutional obstacle which has presented itself; but if the general will be reconciled to an application of the territorial fund to the removal of the colored population, a grant to Congress of the necessary authority could be carried, with little delay, through the forms of the Constitution.

Sincerely wishing an increasing success to the labors of the Society, I pray you to be assured of my esteem, and to accept my friendly salutations.

JAMES MADISON.

RICHMOND, Dec. 14, 1831.

Dear Sir: I received your letter of the 7th, in the course of the mail, but it was not accompanied by the documents you mention.

I undoubtedly feel a deep interest in the success of the Society, but, if I had not long since formed a resolution against appearing in print on any occasion, I should now be unable to comply with your request. In addition to various occupations which press on me very seriously, the present state of my family is such as to prevent my attempting to prepare any thing for publication.

The great object of the Society, I presume, is to obtain pecuniary aids. Application will undoubtedly be made, I hope successfully, to the several State Legislatures by the societies formed within them respectively. It is extremely desirable that they should pass permanent laws on the subject, and the excitement produced by the late insurrection makes this a favorable moment for the friends of the Colony to press for such acts. It would be also desirable, if such a direction could be given to State Legislation as might have some tendency to incline the people of color to migrate. This, however, is a subject of much delicacy. Whatever may be the success of our endeavors to obtain acts for permanent aids, I have no doubt that our applications for immediate contributions will receive attention.

It is possible, though not probable, that more people of color may be disposed to migrate than can be provided for with the funds the Society may be enabled to command. Under this impression I suggested, some years past, to one or two of the Board of Managers, to allow a small additional bounty in lands to those who would pay their own passage in whole or in part. The suggestion, however, was not approved.

It is undoubtedly of great importance to retain the countenance and protection of the General Government. Some of our cruizers stationed on the coast of Africa would, at the same time, interrupt the slave trade—a horrid traffic detested by all good men, and would protect the vessels and commerce of the Colony from pirates who infest those seas. The power of the government to afford this aid is not, I believe, contested. I regret that its power to grant pecuniary aid is not equally free from question. On this subject, I have always thought, and still think, that the proposition made by Mr. King, in the Senate, is the most unexceptionable, and the most effective that can be devised.

The fund would probably operate as rapidly as would be desirable, when we take into view the other resources which might come in aid of it, and its application would be, perhaps, less exposed to those constitutional objections which are made in the South than the application of money drawn from the Treasury and raised by taxes. The lands are the property of the United States, and have heretofore been disposed of by the government under the idea of absolute ownership. The cessions of the several States convey them to the General Government for the common benefit without prescribing any limits to the judgment of Congress, or any rule by which that judgment shall be exercised. The cession of Virginia indeed seems to look to an apportionment of the fund among the States, "according to their several respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure." But this cession was made at a time when the lands were believed to be the only available fund for paying the debts of the United States and supporting their Government. This condition has probably been supposed to be controlled by the existing constitution, which gives Congress "power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territories or the property belonging to the U. States. It is certain that the donations made for roads and colleges are not in proportion to the part borne by each State of the general expenditure. The removal of our colored population is, I think, a common object, by no means confined to the slave States, although they are more immediately interested in it. The whole Union would be strengthened by it, and relieved from a danger, whose extent can scarcely be estimated. It lessens very much in my estimation, the objection in a political view to the application of this ample fund, that our lands are becoming an object for which the States are to scramble, and which threatens to sow

the seeds of discord among us instead of being what they might be—a source of national wealth.

I am, dear sir, with great and respectful esteem,
Your obedient servant,

J. MARSHALL.

When the reading of the Report and the above letters was concluded, the Hon. Mr. VANCE, of Ohio, moved the following Resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That the Report of the Board of Managers be accepted, and that 10,000 copies be printed for the use of the Society.

On motion of Rev. LEONARD BACON,

Resolved, That it be recommended to the friends of this Society, in all parts of the country, to make themselves fully acquainted with its claims and merits as a benevolent Institution, and as such, to plead for it with the public; and especially to present its plan to the free people of color as an Institution designed primarily and most immediately for their good.

Mr. BACON addressed the Meeting substantially as follows:

In presenting this resolution, Sir, I hope to be indulged in a few remarks. It has been my privilege, on many occasions, to plead the cause of your Society as a *benevolent Institution*; and as such it has ever been my happiness to regard it, since first I became acquainted with its designs.—Let it be exhibited in this light, and it will plead for itself with all the friends of man and all the worshippers of God. Let it keep this high attitude, and around it will be rallied more and more, all the sympathies and strength of the wise and good among us, and voices of cheering will come up—as we have heard them to-night—from other lands bidding us go onward, telling us our work is the work of God, and that in the strength of God we shall prevail.

I apprehend, Sir, that at the present crisis, there may be some danger of forgetting that our Institution is primarily and preeminently benevolent. It is not impossible that, in our reasonings about the ulterior results and complicated bearings of the work, we may too much overlook the immediate and grand design of doing good to the wretched, elevating a degraded race from its misery, and chasing from a wide continent the deep darkness that has covered it for uncounted ages. Let the Institution cease to be a benevolent Institution, and its prosperity will begin to fail: the devout will cease to commend it to God, in their prayers; and the friends of suffering humanity will no longer toil in its behalf.

If the Society, Mr. President, is to hold on its way, especially if it is to prosper to the extent of our hopes, we as individuals (I speak on the presumption that all here are friends to this cause)—we as individuals, Sir, must put our hands to the work, in our several spheres. We must prove ourselves true-hearted, working philanthropists. We must take

take hold of the enterprise in the spirit of benevolence, and help it forward as designed to do good, not to ourselves, but to others whom the pressure of existing evils has made more wretched than we are, more wretched than we can ever become.

There is danger that the free colored population will fall into the hands of far other men than the friends of this Society. We have seen something of this danger; and the sources of it are not difficult to be discovered. Our Institution is one, the success of which, will not only bless those who are the immediate objects of its beneficence, but, by blessing them, will bless also the country in which no laws and no benevolent exertions have as yet been able to secure them an equal birthright, and the people among whom, such is the force of mutual prejudice, they are strangers and outcasts. Unquestionably, Sir, this is an important aspect of our enterprise, and one which I would by no means desire any man to overlook. Yet here is the source of the danger referred to. When the Society is spoken of as an Institution which is to relieve us of a present and pressing evil, and which may relieve the country of a prospective and perhaps not distant danger—when such views are strongly urged on the self-interest of the nation, the people of color are not ignorant of this aspect of the subject; they read—they hear—and when they are spoken of as a nuisance to be got rid of, they prove themselves men, men of like passions with us, by resenting it. Their prejudices are roused. They stand aloof from the design. And the fact is not to be concealed, that the free people of color, taken as a community, look on our undertaking with disaffection. Meanwhile, there are men whom nature has endowed with such talents as equip a demagogue, and with whom it seems an object worth ambition to head the free people of color, and to receive the homage of their applause. Such men know how to move on these people in the line of their prejudices. "This country," they tell them, "is your country; here you were born, and here you have a right to stay; we are your friends, and we will maintain your rights against those who would drive you into exile." Thus moving on their ignorance, wearing the aspect of friendship, and let us say too—acting as their friends in many other respects, such men find it, at present, an easy matter to confirm them in their prejudices, and to acquire an influence over them which may be directed to disastrous issues.

I have not made these remarks, Sir, without a view to some practical application. We all believe that this Institution is admirably calculated to do good to this unhappy portion of mankind. We know that this is its immediate design. In our view, it stands with its hands full of blessings for these our fellow-men. Let us go, then, and show these fellow-men that we are individually their friends. Let us show this, in every way, in which an intelligent and substantial benevolence can manifest itself. Thus we may get within the entrenchment of their prejudices; and may bring

them to understand how vast, how rich, how noble is the inheritance which the Society offers them. They need only to know this clearly, and nothing more will be necessary to carry them thither.

Yes, Sir, I doubt not we shall ere long witness a reaction on this subject in the common sentiment of the free people of color—a reaction powerful in proportion to the strength of their existing prejudices. I doubt not that, as they become better acquainted with their real interests, and as they begin to learn how unfounded were their apprehensions of mischief in our designs, we shall see them crowding to the Colony, as the oppressed of Europe come crowding to our shores.

Indeed, it is something auspicious, that in the earlier stages of our undertaking, there has not been a general rush of emigration to the Colony. In any single year since Cape Montserado was purchased, the influx of a thousand emigrants might have been fatal to our enterprise. A benignant Providence has retarded the work, giving us opportunity to lay our foundations deep and strong, so that by and by the topstone may go up with shouting. No great undertaking is suddenly accomplished. Rome was not built in a day; and a work like ours, bestowing happiness on millions, reversing the dark destiny of a continent, and stretching its results over all future time, is not the work of a moment. But the work being fairly begun—the foundations once laid—the elements of society in our infant republic once compacted and organized—our enterprise may go on in a geometrical ratio of acceleration. The new-comers into any community must always be a minority, else every arrival is a revolution; they must be a decided minority, easily absorbed into the system and mingled with the mass, else the community is constantly liable to convulsion. Let ten thousand foreigners, rude and ignorant, be landed at once in this district; and what would be the result?—why, you must have an armed force here to keep the peace. So one thousand now landing at once in our Colony, might be its ruin. But time is fast developing the resources and increasing the strength of our young African empire. Every year's emigrations, as they become incorporated with its settled population, increase its capacity for receiving more. The date is not far distant when there will be no danger attendant on the arrival of thousands in a year.

Now let that reaction take place which we anticipate among the free people of color, and most assuredly such a change *will* soon begin—let it but begin, Sir, and the same spirit which brings to this country from Ireland, thousands and tens of thousands of her needy and wretched population to find a better home under these brighter skies, will carry thousands from among the oppressed in America to Africa. Rather, let me say, the same spirit of enterprise which carries thousands annually from the Atlantic to the Western States—the same spirit which sends the young farmer, the young tradesman, the young adventurer in every employment and profession, from Massachusetts to Illinois, and from Maine to Michigan.

will send young men of color in like numbers to find in the land of their fathers a home and an inheritance for their children.

In this point of view, I regard with peculiar interest, the progress of agriculture, and of the various departments of industry, and the progress of education and religion and social improvement, in the Colony. The facts detailed in the Report, show that the time is fast approaching when your ports in Africa may receive new emigrants by tens of thousands in a year. They show that the time is approaching, when the Society will have no occasion to pay the passage of such as seek an asylum in its territories, or to offer any other bounty for the encouragement of emigration. May it not be that the very zeal which we have manifested to persuade these people to remove, has operated to keep them back? May it not be that this hiring them by paying all their expenses, has confirmed them in the suspicion that their removal is designed entirely for our benefit, and not at all for theirs? It seems to result from the first principles of human nature, that when Liberia shall be known and indisputably acknowledged to afford the free people of color all those privileges and blessings which *we* are assured it will afford them, they will rush thither of their own accord, and pay their own expenses. We may be confident, that the more you do for the internal improvement of the Colony, for the erection of public edifices, for the construction of roads and bridges, for the establishment of schools—the more you do to make it a desirable asylum, the more rapidly will you promote emigration. Let there be in Africa, a well ordered, prosperous, and intelligent republic, fast stretching along the sea and penetrating the continent, the forest vanishing before its citizens, and the wilderness becoming a fruitful field, and when the tale comes back to us, as surely it will, the children of Africa among us will hear it. The story will soon go down even to the dark depths in which they dwell. Voices which they cannot but understand, will tell them of the riches that are theirs, if they will only rouse themselves and be men; and at the sound they will come forth to light and liberty, as from the sepulchre. The land of their fathers will be their land; and as they look round on its mountains and its rivers with the feeling that all is theirs, they will look back, and call us blessed; and in their gratitude the names of the men who here toiled to secure them that inheritance will be given to those streams and mountains, and to the towns and villages that shall adorn them, and will thus go down to a distant posterity in the history and the songs of a free, intelligent and Christian people.

I repeat it, Sir, without indulging myself any farther in these miscellaneous illustrations of the sentiment—the enterprise of your Society, considered as a work of benevolence, bearing first and most of all on the well-being of the African race, commends itself to the regard of all who feel for the miseries of degraded humanity or who pray for the coming of the kingdom of God. It occupies an eminent position among those under-

takings of Christian zeal which are the glory of the age. It is to sustain a grand part in bringing about the consummation of those hopes which look for the day when truth and righteousness shall every where prevail, and under the light of the word of God, every system that degrades or enthalls mankind shall vanish like the fabric of a dream. Let us go on then with our work, cheered by the thought that these efforts of ours are combining with other influences to introduce the universal dominion of liberty and parity and joy, when under the broad sky and all round the green world there shall be one aspect of peace, and no throne of a despot shall offend those smiling heavens, no footstep of a slave pollute that new and rejoicing earth.

On motion by the Hon. EDWARD EVERETT, of Massachusetts,

Resolved, That the colonization of the coast of Africa is the most efficient mode of suppressing the slave trade and of civilizing the African Continent.

In submitting the foregoing Resolution Mr. EVERETT addressed the Chair as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN:—In obtruding myself, for a short time, upon your notice, this evening, I perform, in some sense, an official duty. The Legislature of the State, which I have the honor in part to represent in Congress, adopted, at its session last winter, a resolution requesting its Senators and Representatives to lend their efforts, in co-operation with the American Colonization Society. This instruction, of course, referred to official exertions on this floor, in another capacity. But I have regarded it also as a motive of imperative nature, in reference to the objects of this meeting, by which it is proposed to concentrate and apply the force of public opinion, in furtherance of the same great design.

In the part of the country, in which I live, the presence of a coloured population, co-existing with the whites, is not felt as an evil. They are few in proportion to the rest of the community. They contain among their numbers many respectable and useful persons. At the same time, it is true, as a class, they are depressed to a low point in the social scale. A single fact will illustrate this remark. They form in Massachusetts about one-seventy-fifth part of the population; but one-sixth of the convicts in our prisons, are of this class. Allowing for some exaggeration in this statement, it is still a painful disproportion. What do I infer from it? Nothing surely as to any superior proneness of the coloured population as such, to crime:—But I think it proves that as a class, they are ignorant and needy; ignorance and want being the parents of crime. Among the whites I have no doubt, that of that portion who are born to hopeless want and hopeless ignorance,—an inheritance of poverty, temptation, and absence of moral restraint,—an equal proportion become the subjects of our penal laws.

But though this population is not felt as an evil in New England, we

are able to enter into those considerations, which have led the venerable Chief Justice of the United States, in the letter just read to us, to speak of it as an evil of momentous character to the peace and welfare of the Union. That evil, however, we of the North have been, for the most part, willing to leave to those whom it more immediately concerns; some of whom, I trust, speaking under the lights of observation and experience, will favour this meeting with their views on this very important subject. There are, however, aspects of the influence and operations of this Society, universally interesting to the philanthropist and friend of humanity; prospects of discharging a moral duty of the most imperative character, and of achieving a work of great, comprehensive, and ever during benevolence. In the resolution which I have had the honour to submit, I have alluded to these views of the operations and effects of the Society.

It is now somewhat more than half a century, since the abolition of the slave trade began to be seriously agitated. This work, I believe, Sir, was begun by your native State. If I mistake not, (speaking from general recollection) Virginia led the way before the American Revolution, in prohibiting the African slave trade. The acts of her colonial legislature to that effect were disallowed by the British crown,—a grievance set forth in the Declaration of Independence, among the causes of the Revolution. In 1776, Mr. David Hartley laid upon the table of the House of Commons, some of the fetters used in confining the unhappy victims of this traffic on board the slave ships, and moved a resolution, that it was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man. The public sensibility had been strongly excited about this time, by the atrocious circumstance, that one hundred and thirty-two living slaves had been thrown overboard, from a vessel engaged in the trade. In 1787, Mr. Wilberforce made his first motion in the House of Commons on this subject. The same year, the Constitution of the United States fixed the period for its abolition in the United States, which accordingly took place by a law passed at the time prescribed—1808. In 1792, Mr. Pitt made his great speech in Parliament, which continued from that time for fifteen years a grand arena, where this question was strenuously contested, by the ablest statesmen of the day. Having carried the point at home, the British government, with praiseworthy zeal, directed its attention to procure from the continental powers, an abolition of this guilty traffic. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Sovereigns there present, and the States represented, pledged themselves to its suppression; and at length, after a tedious succession of negotiations and conventions, not very creditable to some of the high parties concerned, on the 23d of March, 1830, the prosecution of the slave trade ceased to be lawful, for the citizens or subjects of any Christian power, in Europe or America.

And now, Mr. Chairman, I must state the melancholy fact, that notwithstanding all these exertions, and the success with which they seemed

to be crowned, less has, at any period, been effected, than was hoped for and anticipated. Until the 23d of March, 1830, the Brazilians were allowed to carry on the trade, South of the equator. There was but little difficulty thrown in the way of a very extensive prosecution of it. Slave ships of all countries, pursuing the traffic to every part of the coast, were provided with fabricated papers, to show that they were carrying on the permitted traffic, south of the equator. Dr. Walsh, in his interesting work on Brazil, gives a very affecting account of the chase of a slave ship by the British frigate, in which he was sailing for Europe. After a keen pursuit of three hundred miles, the slave ship was captured. She had taken in five hundred and sixty-two slaves on the coast of Africa, and had been out seventeen days, in which time fifty-five had died! The wretched crew, over five hundred in number, were liberated from their horrid confinement between decks, and for a short time flattered with the hope of liberty. But on examining the papers of the commander of the ship, although there was the strongest reason to suspect their want of genuineness, there was nothing to prove it; and it became necessary for the British officers to drive these unhappy beings back to their hold, and surrender them up to the wretch who was dragging them from their native country, into perpetual slavery in Brazil.

Although the traffic is now denounced, and declared illegal or piratical, by every Christian government, it is supposed that it is still very extensively carried on. The regulations of the British service forbid the capture of vessels, however apparently they are fitted out for the pursuit of this trade, unless they actually have slaves on board. The slave ships consequently, hover about the coast, which is mostly low, sunken, and indented with numerous branching rivers, taking in their cargo in the night, escaping by one arm of a stream, while another is blockaded by a cruiser, and thus elude capture. In addition to this, the governments of France and America have not yet felt themselves authorized to admit a right of search by foreign cruisers. These circumstances united, together with the enhanced value of slaves, occasioned by the obstacles thrown in the way of the accustomed pursuit of the slave trade, will, it is to be feared, for some time, have the effect of causing it to be carried on with greater keenness, ferocity, and waste of life. It will be carried on in swift sailing vessels; on board of which, the wretched victims of the traffic will be more than ever crowded; and barbarous expedients, in the event of search, will be resorted to, to escape detection. It has already happened that slaves have been enclosed in casks, and thrown overboard, in a chase, to be picked up when the danger of capture was over.* The want of a

Since these remarks were made, the following account has appeared in the English papers:

"The *Fair Rosamond* and the *Black Joke*, tenders to the *Dryad* Frigate, have captured three slave vessels, which had originally eleven hundred slaves on board;

vigorous government, and of an enlightened sentiment in the Havannah, the general growth of piracy, and the vicinity of Brazil to the coast of Africa will, it is to be feared, under present circumstances, furnish but too many facilities for carrying on this wicked commerce. It is supposed that nearly one hundred thousand human beings are still annually taken by violence from the coast of Africa, and carried into slavery.

If such be the facts of the case, and even with considerable allowance for exaggeration, it is plain that the methods hitherto pursued for the destruction of the slave trade,—penal denunciation enforced by armed cruisers,—has proved in a high degree ineffectual. Nor can it be hoped that it will be found practicable to guard the coast of Africa, (an extent all round of eighty degrees of latitude), by any force competent to the suppression of the trade. Another mode, then, must be adopted, or the attainment of the object must be abandoned in despair. Such another mode happily presents itself, of efficacy already proved by experience; and that is, the establishment of colonies on the African coast. In this way, a cordon is drawn along that continent, which the slave trader cannot penetrate.—The experience already had in the British Colony of Sierra Leone, and in our own Liberia, abundantly authorizes this conclusion. In reference to Liberia, I take great pleasure in quoting a favorable testimony from a recent British publication, entitled to additional credit on the score of impartiality, from the source from which it proceeds. After an exceedingly favourable account of the Colony, in all its aspects, the writer to whom I allude, continues: "Nothing has tended more to suppress the slave trade, in this quarter, than the constant intercourse and communication of the natives with these industrious colonists. The American Agent, Mr. Ashmun, took every opportunity and means in his power, to extinguish a traffic, so injurious, in every way, to the fair trader." "Wherever the influence of this Colony extends, the slave trade has been abandoned by the natives, and the peaceful pursuits of legitimate commerce established in its place."*

Wherever a civilized jurisdiction is established on the African coast, the

but of which they succeeded in taking only three hundred and six to Sierra Leone. It appears that the *Fair Rosamond* had captured a lugger with 160 Africans, and shortly after saw the *Black Joke* in chase of two other luggers. She joined in the pursuit, but the vessels succeeded in getting into the Bonny River, and landed six hundred slaves, before the tenders could take possession of them. They found on board only two hundred, but ascertained that the rascals in command of the slavers had thrown overboard one hundred and eighty slaves, manacled together, of whom only four were picked up."

* Essay on the actual state of the slave trade on the coast of Africa, in the *Amulet* for 1832, said to be "extracted principally from the Journal of a gallant and distinguished naval officer, who passed three years on the African coast, from which he has just returned."

slave trade is destroyed, not merely by preventing and prohibiting the approach of the traders, but by instituting a lawful and lucrative commerce with the natives, and inducing them to seek the supply of their wants, in the exchange of the abundant products of their fertile soil for those articles of foreign product and manufacture, which are in request among them.

Not only is this the most effectual, I may say the only effectual, mode of suppressing the trade, but it is unfortunately true, that the other method, (the pursuit of the slave traders by armed cruizers in the seas most infested by them,) is, even when successful in its operations, accompanied by some of the worst evils of the trade in its undisturbed prosecution. A cruising ship of war perceives a suspicious vessel at a distance, and gives chase to her, for hours, perhaps days. It is evident, that in the crowded condition of such vessels, the sufferings of the wretched beings on board must be greatly heightened by the neglect—perhaps the cruelties, attendant on being chased. Some of the slave ships are provided with false decks, below which the slaves are crowded, when about to fall into the hands of a cruizer, and casks and packages are piled above, to give the semblance of an ordinary trading voyage. Some of the slave ships are strongly armed, and an action often takes place with the cruizer. This must add, of course, immeasurably to the sufferings and sacrifice of life of the miserable victims, crowded between decks. When captured, what is their condition? They are in the mid ocean, perhaps. It is known to all, that the horrors of the middle passage form one of the most frightful features of the slave trade. When a slave ship is captured, that horrid voyage is yet to be performed, and with scarce any alleviation of its sufferings. The slaves still remain of necessity crowded to suffocation, on a miserable allowance of food, exposed to all the causes of disease and death. If captured by an American cruizer, they must be sent across the Atlantic, to be adjudicated in the United States. If captured by the cruizers of the other powers, they must be sent up to windward, to the seat of the mixed commission on the African coast, a voyage frequently of weeks, sometimes of months, during the whole of which they are suffering an amount of misery and dying at a rate of mortality, probably without a parallel in any other condition of human nature. It would lead me too greatly into detail, to trace the situation of the captured Africans, after they are safely landed on the coast either of the United States or of Africa. As to the former, your memory, Sir, can furnish you with facts, which I will not grieve this audience by repeating. But this I will say, that the situation of the re-captured African is too often one, that affords but little cause of congratulation, on the score of humanity. I do not go too far in saying, (for the public documents of this government bear me out in the assertion), that there have been cases of re-captured Africans, brought within the jurisdiction of the United States, who for

ought they have gained by their liberation, might as well have remained in the hands of the slave trader.

To all these evils, so far as the influence of the civilized colonies on the coast of Africa extends, they furnish a complete remedy. They purify from the contamination of the slave trade, the entire extent of coast within their jurisdiction. That our Colony has borne its part in this happy work, is manifest from the Reports of the Managers, which have informed us, that, short as the annals of the Colony are, they already present instances of native tribes, who, harrassed and exhausted by this all-destroying traffic, have placed themselves under the American Colony for protection. The same is true, and of course to a greater extent, of the more powerful British Colony of Sierra Leone.

By the same process, by which the colonization of the coast tends to the suppression of the slave trade, it promotes the civilization of the interior of the Continent of Africa. This is a topic, which, as it seems to me, has not received its share of consideration. Of this mighty continent, four times as large as Europe, one third part at least is within the direct reach of influences, from the west of Europe and America,—influences which, for three hundred years, have been employed through the agency of the slave trade, to depress and barbarize it; to chain it down to the lowest point of social degradation. I trust these influences are now to be employed in repairing the wrongs, in healing the wounds, in gradually improving the condition of Africa. I trust that a great reaction is at hand. Can it be believed that this mighty region, most of it overflowing with tropical abundance, was created and destined for eternal barbarity? Is it possible, in the present state of the public sentiment of the world, with the present rapid diffusion of knowledge,—with the present reduction of antiquated errors to the test of reason, that such a quarter of the world will be permitted to derive nothing but barbarism, from intercourse with the countries which stand at the head of civilization? It is not possible.

I know it is said, that it is impossible to civilize Africa. Why? Why is it impossible to civilize man in one part of the earth more than in another? Consult history. Was Italy—was Greece the cradle of civilization? No. As far back as the lights of tradition reach, Africa was the cradle of science, while Syria, and Greece, and Italy, were yet covered with darkness. As far back as we can trace the first rudiments of improvement, they came from the very head waters of the Nile, far in the interior of Africa; and there are yet to be found, in shapeless ruins, the monuments of this primeval civilization. To come down to a much later period, while the west and north of Europe were yet barbarous, the Mediterranean Coast of Africa was filled with cities, academies, museums, churches, and a highly civilized population. What has raised the Gaul, the Belgium, the Germany, the Scandinavia, the Britain of an cient geography to their pres-

ent improved and improving condition? Africa is not now sunk lower, than most of these countries were eighteen centuries ago; and the engines of social influence are increased a thousand fold in numbers and efficacy. It is not eighteen hundred years since Scotland, whose metropolis has been called the Athens of modern Europe, the country of Hume, of Smith, of Robertson, of Blair, of Stewart, of Brown, of Jeffrey, of Chalmers, of Scott, of Brougham, was a wilderness infested by painted savages. It is not a thousand years, since the North of Germany, now filled with beautiful cities, learned Universities, and the best educated population in the world, was a dreary pathless forest.

Is it possible that before an assembly like this, an assembly of Americans, it can be necessary to argue the possibility of civilizing Africa, through the instrumentality of a colonial establishment, and that, in a comparatively short time? It is but about ten years, since the foundations of the Colony of Liberia were laid, and every one acquainted with the early history of New England knows, that the Colony at Liberia has made much greater progress, than was made by the settlement at Plymouth, in the same period. More than once were the first settlements in Virginia in a position vastly less encouraging than that of the American Colony, on the coast of Africa; and yet from these feeble beginnings in New England and Virginia, what has not been brought about, in two hundred years? Two hundred years ago, and the continent of N. America for the barbarism of its native population, and its remoteness from the sources of improvement, was all that Africa is now. Impossible to civilize Africa! Sir, the work is already, in no small part, accomplished. We form our ideas of Africa too much from the wasted and degraded state of the coast. There are numerous and powerful nations in the interior, who are familiar with the art of writing; the great index and engine of civilization. You and I, Sir, have seen a native African, carried into slavery in the West Indies in his youth, exposed for more than forty years to the labors and hardships of that condition, the greater part of the time in the field, and at the age of seventy years, writing his native Arabic, with the elegance and fluency of a scribe!

I cannot but regard the colonizing of Africa, by a kindred race of African origin, as an enterprise in all respects as hopeful, and in some respects far more promising, than that of settling and civilizing America, by an alien and hostile people. In the settlement and civilization of the American continent, either from the fatality of circumstances or the incurable imperfection of man, the extermination of the native population has been the preliminary condition of the introduction of the civilized race. It has been found or thought impossible, that the red man and the white man should subsist side by side.

In colonizing Africa, no such painful incongruity presents itself. The colored emigrants from this country will present themselves on the African shore, a people of kindred origin, bringing with them the arts of

civilized life, unaccompanied with those fatal causes of separation, which have driven the aborigines of America, before the approach of the white man. The gentle hand of nature will draw toward them the affections and confidence of the natives. The jealousies and suspicions, which diversity of race invariably produces, can have no foundation; and it may reasonably be expected, if a vigorous impulse can now be given to the Colony, that the work of civilization will proceed from it, as from a centre, with a rapidity unexampled in the history of other colonies.

I am aware, that the partial failure of the establishment at Sierra Leone may be quoted in opposition to these encouraging views. But it must not be forgotten, that Sierra Leone is an establishment, totally different in its origin and character from Liberia. It is formed from the crews of the recaptured slave ships, helpless savages of a hundred different tribes, thrown, without preparation, upon the coast, and without any principle of order or self-government, subjected to all the evils of a remote and neglected military establishment. The progress that has been made at Liberia is, on the contrary, all that could have been hoped. A tract of coast two hundred miles North and South, and twenty or thirty East and West; a population of two thousand emigrants, and several thousands of the native tribes who have voluntarily sought the protection of the Colony; with schools and churches, and all the institutions of civilized life,—a great state of prosperity and every encouraging prospect,—this surely is not slow progress for ten years.

And is there any thing in the nature of the case, which makes the restoration of the descendants of Africa to their native land, necessarily more slow than the process of abduction? It is supposed, that one hundred thousand slaves have been annually brought from Africa; and that too, at times, when the trade has been pursued under great obstacles, illegally, piratically, by stealth, and under the watch of ships of war, stationed to intercept it. Can any man doubt, that if the governments of France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands, of the United States of America and the several States, should apply their influence, their power, their resources to this great work, it might proceed with any desirable degree of rapidity? The gentleman who preceded me (Rev Mr. Bacon, of New-Haven) alluded to the prodigious influx of emigrants into this country. I have lately seen a statement that within the past year, over forty thousand emigrants from Great Britain alone, have arrived at the single port of Quebec. More than half as many more have arrived in the various ports of the United States, making an aggregate of sixty thousand persons, in the different ports of North America. It is by no means to be desired, at present, that any thing like this number of emigrants should be annually set down on the African coast; but I much mistake the public feeling in those parts of the United States, most interested in this question, if a weight of influence and a supply of means are not shortly ap-

plied to this purpose, commensurate with the magnitude of the object to be effected.

The age seems favorable to the movement; it is in harmony with the great incidents of the time. From the East of Europe to the North of Africa, surprising changes, favorable to civilization, have taken place.—Greece has been brought within the reach of the sympathies of the rest of Christendom. Temporary disorders, the natural fruit of revolution, will create but a brief delay in the advancement of that interesting country. The restoration of the Northern coast of Africa to the domain of civilization has begun. The strongest of its barbarous regencies has been shaken; and its power, which for ages seemed impregnable—the scandal and the dread of Christendom—has crumbled in a day. May we not hope that a still more auspicious era is about to commence,—that a bloodless triumph,—*victoria sine clade*,—is to be achieved on the Western Coast of Africa?

Happy for America, if she shall take an honorable lead in this great and beneficent work! Happy, if having presented to the world on her own soil a great model of popular institutions, she should now become an efficient agent, in their diffusion over the ancient abodes of civilization, now relapsed into barbarity. Happy, if she shall be forward to acquit her share of the mighty debt, which is due to injured Africa, from the civilized nations of the world. Who that has contemplated the infernal horrors of the slave trade; that has seen, in his mind's eye, hundreds of men, women and children, crowded between decks, into a space too low to stand up—too short to lie down—too narrow to turn,—chained, scourged, famished, parched, heaped together,—the old and the young, the languishing, the dying and the dead,—who can dwell on this spectacle, and not turn with a throbbing heart to the sight of a company of emigrants, the children of Africa, wafted over the ocean to the land of their fathers, bound toward the great and genial home of their race, commissioned to trample the slave trade into the dust, returning from a civilized land, to scatter the seeds of civilization over the mighty extent of Western Africa!

I know not but I may entertain an exaggerated impression of this matter; that I may see it under lights, too strong for practical life. But I must confess I think there is opened to the colored population of this country, a career of broad and lasting usefulness, a destiny of honor and exaltation, unexampled in history.

There seem to be peculiar circumstances in the work, of which they are the chosen agents, to be found in no other similar enterprise in the annals of the world. A mighty continent is to be civilized: that is not without example in history; but the restoration of the descendants of those, who were torn as slaves from this fated region, coming back the heralds and missionaries of civilization, with freedom, the arts, and Christianity in their train: returning to regenerate a continent;—to raise themselves from

a depressed condition to one of the loftiest, in which man can be placed, the condition of benefactors of an entire race, to the end of time; this is the destiny of the colored population of the United States, who shall embark in the great enterprise of civilizing Africa; a destiny, as it seems to me, without a parallel in the history of mankind.

This glorious era has begun to dawn. Over a line of coast of nearly one thousand miles in extent, the purple streaks of the morning are beginning to appear; and

jocund day

Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops.

From the extreme north of the British territory of Sierra Leone, southward to the Cape of Palmas, the entire coast, with one or two exceptions, has thrown off the curse of the slave trade. Many, I know, who hear me, have seen the numbers of the *Liberia Herald*, a respectable newspaper printed at Monrovia, and edited by a colored emigrant, liberally educated at one of the colleges of the United States. You and I, Sir, and many gentlemen around me, have listened, in the Committee rooms of this Capitol, to the animated and intelligent accounts of the prosperity of this Colony—the fertility of the soil—the salubrity of the climate—the freedom and happiness of the mode of life in Liberia—given by an emigrant from the United States,—a descendant of African slaves, who had amassed a fortune, by honest and successful industry, in the land of his fathers.

Sir, when men have a great, benevolent, and holy object in view,—of permanent interest, *obstacles are nothing*. If it fails in the hands of one, it will be taken up by another. If it exceeds the powers of an individual, society will unite toward the desired end. If the force of public opinion in one country is insufficient, the kindred spirits of foreign countries will lend their aid. If it remain unachieved by one generation, it goes down as a heritage of duty and honor to the next; and through the long chain of counsels and efforts, from the first conception of the benevolent mind, that planned the great work, to its final and glorious accomplishment, there is a steady and unseen, but irresistible co-operation of that divine influence, which orders all things for good.

Am I told that the work we have in hand is too great to be done? Too great, I ask, to be done *when*; too great to be done *by whom*? Too great I admit to be done at once; too great to be done by this Society; too great to be done by this generation perhaps; but not too great to be done.—Nothing is too great to be done, which is founded on truth and justice. When this objection was suggested in the British House of Commons, to the measures proposed for the regeneration of the children of Africa, Mr. Pitt in reply to it exclaimed, “We Britons were once as obscure among the nations of the earth, as savage in our manners, as debased in our morals, as degraded in our understandings, as these unhappy Africans are at present.” The work is doubtless too great to be entirely effected by this So-

cïety, by the most ardent and zealous of its friends, perhaps for the present and the next succeeding generation. But is it too great for the enlightened public opinion of the world? Is it too great for the joint efforts of the United States, of Great Britain, and of France, and the other Christian countries, already pledged to the cause? Is it too great for the transmitted purpose, the perpetuated concert of generations succeeding generations, for centuries to come? Sir, I may ask without irreverence, in a case like this, though it be too great for man, is it too great for that August Providence, whose counsels run along the line of ages and to whom a thousand years are as one day?

NOTE.—It is stated on page xiv, “that the Governments of France and of the U. States have not yet felt themselves authorised to admit a right of search by foreign cruizers.” Since the foregoing remarks were made, it has been stated in the papers, that, by a recent convention between England and France, the French Government has authorised the right of search on the coast of Africa, with a view to the suppression of the slave trade.

On motion of Hon. Mr. ARCHER, of Virginia,

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Auxiliary Societies, and friends of the association generally, to avail themselves of the present moment, to address earnest appeals to their respective State Legislatures, for attention and aid to the great object of the Institution.

Mr. ARCHER rose to offer a resolution. The brief period remaining for the business of the evening would induce him, he said, to curtail something from the remarks he had intended to submit. He could not abstain from all remark, as he felt some explanation to be due to the new position in which he found himself. This evening, for the first time, he had become associated in the proceedings of the Society. Invited, as others had been, to this participation, heretofore he had always declined it. Why had he done this? Not, certainly, from any doubt of the philanthropic motives from which the institution had sprung. On the contrary, he had been influenced by the impression that this philanthropy was in the exaltation of enthusiasm; and this state of feeling, though not separated necessarily, was known to hold a very precarious connexion with wisdom. He acknowledged that he now felt that he had made an erroneous application of this general proposition, and that it was not the authors of the Society, but himself, who had been miscalculating—a miscalculation for which he took the more rebuke, as it extended beyond a mere error of the head, and might seem to argue, in the diffidence it implied of the efficacy of benevolent exertion, a languid indulgence of the sentiment. Even in his present state of sentiment, however, he had no surprise to express, as regarded his first impressions, recollecting, as he did, the disparity out of which these impressions had sprung, between the magnitude and difficulty of the object which the Society proposed to accomplish, and the apparent inadequacy of its faculties to such a purpose. The object was

the removal of a momentous, inert, and deeply seated social evil. What was the implement relied upon to move it? Well might the force of moral action be regarded as eluding calculation! From an almost imperceptible outset, how striking sometimes were the results? A more signal example could not be given, than the Society afforded! Fourteen years ago, some gentlemen met in a tavern in this place—then scarcely having a tolerable tavern. They were few in number, (as you know, Mr. Chairman, for you, I believe, were one of them.) They were dispersed, as regarded residence. The contribution they required was exceedingly inconsiderable. They found little support in public opinion or sympathy; on the contrary, their project was received with apathy, where it did not meet with jealousy, disfavor, repulse. They persevered, notwithstanding, with steadiness; and what had been the result? What is now the condition and promise of their experiment? Such as to place in distinct view the success of the important scheme of philanthropy in which their efforts have been embarked. The germ they planted in the wilderness, with a generous growth has become a stem, giving the certain assurance of stability, and promising an expansion which may hereafter gather multitudes, and even whole communities, rescued from desolation or barbarism, under the shade of its branches, to yield them the fruit of *regeneration*. Mr. A. repeated, that an instance more signal was not to be adduced, of the triumph of a persevering philanthropy, speaking in the distinctest language to its votaries, the blessed injunction, that confidence in a *virtuous purpose is power*—that, if *they be of faith*, mountains in the path of their labors shall be removed.

The difficulty which belonged to the plantation of colonies, Mr. A. went on to say, all history attested. The first attempts from which our country had grown, as had been well observed by the gentleman who had preceded him (Mr. Everett) had slowly, and not without the frequent menace of extinction, made their way to stability. The first germ, he might have added, which had been planted on our shores, had been effaced, so utterly, by the desolation which had passed over it, that the trace had not been left to be distinguished. Yet our colonists had sprung from the bosom of a powerful community—been sustained by the public force—had found climates the most favorable, or not uncongenial! What was the contrast of the Colony of Liberia? Sent out by a private and that a most feeble association—seeking the most inhospitable of all seats, whether regard were had to the character of the climate or of the savage inhabitants—three thousand miles from any aid which circumstances might demand—its indispensable supplies depending on the precariousness of voluntary contribution: yet, what had it, in the short period since its birth, become? A flourishing settlement—capable of self-defence—capable of self-government—capable of good government—evincing susceptibility of unlimited expansion, with its seat in the largest quarter of

the globe—the population sparse, and offering, from identity of race, no obstacle to incorporation—the climate, that appropriated to their race by nature! The soil, too, was so fertile, as to produce two crops for subsistence in the year—the articles for trade, numerous and valuable already, gave a respectable foreign commerce, with a capacity of an indefinite extension. Who could put limits to the destinies of this, not the germ only of one settlement; the nucleus, it might be, of many settlements? As to what was so often said about climate, the answer was in a word, and had been given—the climate was the appropriate one of the race. When all the circumstances of this establishment were considered, the feebleness of its origin, the unexampled rapidity of success, the marvellous promise of extension—even those not professing to be pious, must recognize the evidence of a blessing on the efforts which had produced it.

He had promised, Mr. A. said, curtailment of the observations he had thought to offer. Something he must yet be allowed to say, as regarded the object, the Society was set up to accomplish. This object, if he understood it aright, involved no intrusion on property, nor even upon prejudice. It sought the removal to a better state, from misery, from vice, from a condition of extensive mischievousness, of a race which had ceased to be property, and had broken the bonds of prejudice, though not of sympathy. Of the virulence of the evil, which would be healed by the effectuation of this object, you, Mr. Chairman, and I, know that none but a person living in contact with it, can adequately judge. Gentlemen, elsewhere, may think they can understand and appreciate its character; they are mistaken. The true knowledge can only come from the suffering of it. The race in question were known, as a class, to be destitute, depraved—the victims of all forms of social misery. The peculiarity of their fate was, that this was not their condition by accident or transiently, but inevitably and immutably, whilst they remained in their present place, by a law as infallible in its operation, as any of physical nature. These people (he repeated) were, of necessity, repudiated of respectability and happiness. Why? How was it that this melancholy destiny was traced to them? The answer was but too readily and certainly at hand! They were cut off as a class from the exercise of industry. It was a wise, perhaps it was the very wisest of the ordinations of Providence, that the practice of industry was as necessary a condition of morals and happiness, as of subsistence. Individual exceptions might rarely be found, *but classes of human beings* could no more remain undepraved, and other therefore than miserable, without regular occupation, than they could permanently find food without it. But where were the free blacks to find occupation in the slave-holding States, in which they abounded the most? In the other States, they might be absorbed to some extent, in domestic or mechanical service. This could take place to no extent, that

deserved to be named, in the slave-holding States. There all the avenues of occupation were filled. Even were there space, a necessary and obvious policy restrained the intermixture of the several casts in occupation. The free blacks were, therefore, destined, by an insurmountable barrier—a *fixed pale* of social law to the want of occupation—thence to the want of food—thence to the distresses which ensue that want—thence to the settled depravation which grows out of these distresses, and is nursed at their bosoms: and this condition *was not casualty, but fate*. The evidence was not speculation in political economy—it was geometrical demonstration.

It is from this anomalous condition of anathema and curse (a curse which comprehends all curses) that this excellent association is laboring to remove the free blacks; to plenty, to regular industry, to independence, and the countless retinue of blessings, which plenty, industry, and independence, have inseparably attached to them. Now what was the benefit the Institution contemplates to the slave and the slave-holder? What is the free black to the slave? A standing perpetual incitement to discontent. Though the condition of the slave be a thousand times the best—*supplied*, protected, instead of destitute and desolate—yet, the folly of the condition, held to involuntary labor, finds, always, allurements, in the spectacle of exemption from it, without consideration of the adjuncts of destitution and misery. The slave would have, then, little excitement to discontent, but for the free black. He would have as little to habits of depredation, his next strongest tendency, but from the same source of deterioration. In this period, not only the familiarity of the truth, that labor can only be productive when well provided; but an enlightened public opinion, which few will encounter, fewer can resist, with “*whips and scorns*,” far more effective than the whips falsely imagined to be always impending over the slave, compels to a humane and comfortable treatment of him. When the slave steals, therefore, it is from sympathy, to supply the destitution of the free black, or for traffic with him. When the master has to employ severity, it is to repress the inertness, or to guard against the depredation, or the discontent, which the intercourse and spectacle of the free black, has been the principal agent to awaken. In getting rid, then, of the free blacks, the slave will be saved from the chief occasions for suffering, and the owner, of inflicting severity. Such are the benefits to these two classes, which the Society contemplates to place by the side of that more inestimable one, which it proposes to the free blacks. The free blacks it would save from want, vice, misery—the slave from crime and suffering, the master of the slave from all occasion for resort to harsh treatment of him.

These were claims to no ordinary approval of the office and operation of the Society. Another, however, belongs to it, far greater. Mr. Archer said, that he was not one of those, (however desirable it might be and

was, in abstract speculation,) who looked to the complete removal of slavery from among us. If that "consummation, devoutly to be wished," were to be considered feasible at all, it was, at a period too remote to warrant the expenditure of any resource of contemplation or contribution now. But a great benefit, short of this, was within reach, and made part of the scope of operation, of the plan of the Society. The progress of slavery was subjected to the action of a law, of the utmost regularity of action. Where this progress was neither stayed, nor modified by causes of collateral operation, it hastened with a frightful rapidity, disproportioned, entirely, to the ordinary law of the advancement of population, to its catastrophe, which was repletion. If none were drained away, slaves became, except under peculiar circumstances of climate, and production, inevitably and speedily redundant, first to the occasions of profitable employment, and as a consequence, to the faculty of comfortable provision for them. No matter what the humanity of the owners, fixed restriction on their resources must transfer itself to the comfort, and then the subsistence, of the slave. At this last stage, the evil in this form had to stop. To this stage (from the disproportioned rate of multiplication of the slaves—double that of the owners in this country) it was obliged, though at different periods, in different circumstances, to come. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots? Or general emancipation, and incorporation, as in South America? Or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided, and if they could, how? There was but one way, but that might be made effectual, fortunately! It was to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment*. This might be done effectually by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened. All that was necessary would be, to provide for the enlargement of the channel, as occasion might demand. To this end, aid was looked for, from the Government of the United States. This would require, Mr. Archer thought, an amendment to the Constitution to authorize it, a resource of precarious reliance. But the resources of the States within which the evil was found, were entirely adequate to the object. The Legislatures of thirteen States, had committed themselves in approval of the scheme of the Society. To these we were authorized to address ourselves. That was the object of the resolution he had to submit. The Society had done all that private association could be expected, all that it could be *bound* to do, in leading the way, and demonstrating the feasibility (in this case the easy feasibility) of the object. The residue must be done, the outline be filled up, by public capacity. The Society had fulfilled, *consummated*, its proper and only requirable office—had filled the measure of its duty and reputa-

tion. It remained, now, for the State Legislatures to take up their part of the function, and to redeem the pledge which so many of them had given. To these he had now to propose we should address ourselves; it could not be, he hoped, without effect.

Mr. A. had been stating the case in the supposition, that after the present class of free blacks had been exhausted, by the operation of the plan he was recommending, others would be supplied for its action, in the proportion of the excess of coloured population it would be necessary to throw off, by the process of voluntary manumission or sale. This effect must result inevitably from the depreciating value of the slaves ensuing their disproportionate multiplication. The depreciation would be relieved and retarded at the same time, by the process. The two operations would aid reciprocally, and sustain each other, and both be in the highest degree beneficial. It was on the ground of interest, therefore, the most indisputable pecuniary interest, that he addressed himself to the people and Legislatures of the slave-holding States. The great principles of philanthropy involved, was indeed to them, as to the other quarters and Legislatures of the Union—a powerful re-inforcing consideration. But he put the case directly, to the clear sense of interest, of this portion sustaining directly the pressure of the evil. His (Mr. A's) plan was disembarassment by each State, of the portion of the evil which belonged to it, first, as it existed, afterwards as it accrued, by the exertion of the proper resources of the State, which, he maintained, would be adequate, if the commencement of the process were no longer delayed. The longer this was delayed, not only did the mass to be wrought on, become more ponderous by augmentation, but the resources of operation more waning, from declining productiveness of the property. This then was the time to invoke the commencement of state action. There was another reason. Large and overwhelming evils induce inertness and torpor in the public mind, which it demands some signal incident or catastrophe to awaken, and direct to salutary action. This has been the case in an especial manner, with the portentous evil in question. A recent and most tragical catastrophe, of which his own State had been the scene, had now put the public mind wide awake, to the interest of this great subject, in every quarter. The moment ought not surely to be lost. Men could not now say as they were wont, of the extremest peril and crisis of this evil, they will not come in our day.

It was demonstrated by proof of frightful validity that the peril impended, that the crisis might come on any day. No! he was wrong! It was not in the day that this form of horrors ever disclosed itself. It came in the night—disclosed itself in the midnight glare of habitations in which every form of outrage and butchery had previously been wreaked, on every form of life and helplessness, even to the sleep of the cradle.—To avert the remotest prospect of evil of this character, what exertion

ought to be omitted? What sacrifice or expenditure declined? None that gave even faint promise of aid! In this view, invoking on all exertions in the cause, the blessing which must rest on their motives, he proposed the resolution which had been sent to the Chair.

On motion,*

Resolved, That the Board of Managers be instructed to prepare and present, at as early a day as convenient, a respectful memorial to both Houses of Congress, soliciting such aid to the object of the Society as in their wisdom they may be pleased to grant.

On motion of Hon. Mr. MARSHALL, of Kentucky,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to J. H. M'Clure, Esq. of Newport, Kentucky, for his munificent subscription to this Institution, of ten thousand dollars payable in ten annual instalments, of which the first has been received; and that the friends of African Colonization be invited to do all in their power to obtain ten or more subscriptions of equal liberality, as suggested by him.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. BATES, of Massachusetts,

Resolved, That this Society is entitled to the support of all the Friends of Christianity as essentially conducing to promote the moral and religious interests of the African race.

On motion of WALTER JONES, Esq.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Society of Friends in North Carolina for the aid which they have liberally and repeatedly rendered to the cause of African Colonization.

On motion of Rev. Dr. FITCH, Professor of Theology in New Haven,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to such Clergymen and congregations, as have during the last year, taken up collections for it, on, or about the 4th of July, and that all the churches and congregations in the United States be invited annually to unite in a measure so happily adapted to promote the interests of this Institution.

On motion by B. L. LEAR, Esq.

Resolved, That the several Auxiliary Col. Societies be assured of the gratitude of this Institution for the efficient and liberal aid granted by them during the year, and that they be requested, at this interesting crisis, to renew their efforts to extend the influence and augment the funds of the Society.

On motion of Rev. WALTER COLTON, of the U. S. Navy,

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be given to the Treasurer, Richard Smith, Esq. for his long continued, able, and gratuitous services.

* This Resolution was to have been moved by the Hon Theodore Frelinghuysen, but the great crowd and feeble health, prevented his remaining at the meeting.

On motion by Rev. Dr. LAURIE,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Hon. C. F. Mercer, for the dignity and ability with which he has presided on this occasion.

The Society then proceeded to an election of officers for the ensuing year.

OFFICERS.

HON. CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton, *President.*

Vice-Presidents.

HON. JAMES MADISON, of Virginia.

HON. JOHN MARSHALL, of Virginia.

General LAFAYETTE, of France.

HON. WM. H. CRAWFORD, of Georgia.

HON. HENRY CLAY, of Lexington, Kentucky.

HON. JOHN C. HERBERT, of Maryland.

ROBERT RALSTON, Esq. of Philadelphia.

Gen. JOHN MASON, of Georgetown, D. C.

SAMUEL BAYARD, Esq. of New Jersey.

ISAAC MCKIM, Esq. of Maryland.

Gen. JOHN HARTWELL COCKE, of Virginia.

Rt. Rev. Bishop WHITE, of Pennsylvania.

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, of Boston.

HON. CHARLES F. MERCER, of Virginia.

JEREMIAH DAY, D. D. of Yale College.

HON. RICHARD RUSH, of Pennsylvania.

Bishop MCKENDREE.

PHILIP E. THOMAS, Esq. of Maryland.

Doctor THOMAS C. JAMES, of Philadelphia.

HON. JOHN COTTON SMITH, of Connecticut.

HON. THEODORE FREELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey.

HON. LOUIS M'LANE, of Washington City.

GERRIT SMITH, Esq. of New York.

J. H. M'CLURE, Esq. of Kentucky.

Managers.

FRANCIS S. KEY, Esq. Dr. THOMAS HENDERSON,

WALTER JONES, Esq. W. W. SEATON, Esq.

Rev. J. LAURIE, D. D. SAM'L. SMITH, Esq.

Rev. S. B. BALCH, D. D. Rev. WILLIAM RYLAND.

Rev. O. B. BROWN, BENJAMIN L. LEAR, Esq.

Rev. WILLIAM HAWLEY, Hon. WILLIAM CRANCH.

Rev. R. R. GURLEY, *Secretary.*

RICHARD SMITH, Esq. *Treasurer.*

JOHN UNDERWOOD, Esq. *Recorder.*

REPORT.

SINCE this Report was read, the most cheering intelligence has arrived from the Colony of Liberia. We refer our readers particularly to Captain Abels' letter in the Appendix. Encouraging statements are made by the Agent of the Society in England, in regard to the favour manifested towards it there, by the distinguished friends of Africa.—Great movements are now going on both in Maryland and Virginia, with reference to the colonization of the free people of colour in those States. Indeed the whole American community appears to be awakened as by one powerful spirit, to the consideration and adoption of measures for the more complete accomplishment of the great objects of the **AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY**.

REPORT.

THE Managers of the American Colonization Society deem it proper to present, in their Fifteenth Annual Report, *First*, a brief statement of the affairs and progress of the Colony during the last year: *Second*, a view of events in this country, which show the advance of public sentiment in favour of this Institution: *Third*, a concise reply to objections; and *Fourth*, some of the reasons and motives which at this time, especially, should rouse the efforts and call forth the prompt and liberal contributions of its friends.

In their last Report, the Managers mentioned the departure, late in the autumn, of the Ship *Carolinian*, and the Brig *Volador*; the former conveying the Colonial Agent, (Dr. Mechlin), a Physician and Assistant Agent, (Dr. Humphries), the Rev. Benjamin Rush Skinner, a Baptist Missionary, with his wife and child, with one hundred and six persons of colour; the latter, Dr. George P. Todsén, Colonial Physician, and eighty-five emigrants. The emigrants by the *Carolinian* were mostly from the high country of Virginia and Maryland; those by the *Volador*, from the lower districts of Virginia and North Carolina. The former suffered severely from the measles during the voyage (which was somewhat longer than that of the *Volador*), and still more by the fever of the climate, after their arrival; while the latter, though afflicted more or less with disease after their landing, experienced a loss of but two small children. The unusual mortality which occurred among the emigrants by the *Carolinian*, was doubtless owing in part to the debility produced by their sickness during the voyage, and to the illness both of the Colonial Agent and Physician at the time their services were most required; yet it may be presumed that their residence, all their lives previous, in a

mountainous region of our country, rendered them peculiarly susceptible to the influences of the African climate.—The emigrants by the Carolinian were accommodated temporarily at Monrovia; while those by the Volador were immediately transferred to Caldwell and placed under the care of Dr. Todsen. The health of the latter during the passage, and the fact that their constitutions were accustomed to an atmosphere not unlike to that of Africa, doubtless contributed to render the fever with which they were visited, milder in its character; yet just praise is due to the medical skill and unwearied attentions of Dr. Todsen, who providentially continued well until nearly all his patients had become convalescent. The Colonial Agent and the Physician at Monrovia being both ill, and their valuable services necessarily intermitted, many of the sick of that settlement resorted to Dr. Todsen, whose efforts were anxiously, and in nearly every instance, successfully directed to their relief.

Dr. Humphries died on the 17th of February, of a pulmonary affection, with which he had long been afflicted in the United States. The decease of the wife and child of the Rev. Benjamin Rush Skinner, occurred soon after; and this devoted Missionary, extremely reduced by fever, took passage for the United States in the Brig Liberia, with hopes of recovering his health, and speedily renewing his Christian labours in Africa. Heaven was pleased to disappoint these hopes.—His strength gradually declined, but his spirit was so calm and uncomplaining, that no immediate danger was apprehended until the first of March, when he was found speechless in his birth, and soon after, gently and humbly resigned his soul to God.

Mr. Skinner possessed a sound and improved understanding, remarkable prudence and fortitude, with the piety and zeal of an Apostle. He had early consecrated himself to the work of missions; had prepared himself for it amid difficulties which would have appalled ordinary resolution, and he engaged in it with the spirit of a martyr.—

A like spirit animated his amiable wife, and the death of these self-sacrificing missionaries is to the church of which they were members, the cause to which they were devoted, and Africa, which their efforts would have blessed, a severe calamity. In the light of their example, others will go forward to the work which they desired, but were not permitted to accomplish; and Africa, regenerated, will remember and honour them.

Among the colonists generally, health has prevailed during the year, and it is the opinion of the Colonial Agent, that emigrants, after the first year, find the African climate more congenial to their constitutions than that of the United States. Some diseases which prove very destructive in our country, are there nearly unknown. Resolved to do all in their power to promote the health of the Colony, and to guard against the fatal effects of the climate, the Managers have recently sent out large supplies of medicines; appropriated a fund for the erection of a hospital; directed that the best situations be selected, both on the coast and in the interior, for all future emigrants, that buildings be constructed, and all things arranged and provided for their accommodation. The Managers are convinced that much of the mortality which has heretofore occurred, has been owing to ignorance of the climate, imprudent exertions, exposures and improper diet among those newly arrived, want of adequate medical advice, and of those comforts and attentions which neither the means of the Society, nor the circumstances of the Colony, just rising into existence on a remote shore, rendered it possible to supply. To the health of the Colony, the Managers have directed their thoughts as to an object of chief concern; and they express confidently the opinion, that people of colour from most regions of our Southern States will experience no serious injury from the African climate, and that such persons, from any section of our country, will soon be able to settle on the elevated lands of the interior, where there exist, it is believed, no special causes of disease. During the absence of the Colonial

Agent, the duties of his station were discharged by the Vice-Agent, Mr. Anthony D. Williams, a man of colour, honorably to himself, and with strict regard to the resources of the Agency, and to the interests of the Colony.

In the first communication made to the Board by the Colonial Agent, after his arrival, he expressed his gratification in witnessing the progress of improvement, and the striking evidences of increasing industry and enterprise among the colonists. Twenty-five substantial stone and frame buildings had been erected at Monrovia during his visit to the United States, while others had been commenced, and agriculture had received more than usual attention. The Managers are happy to state, that the expectations this intelligence excited, have been realized. "The Colony," writes the Colonial Agent, "enjoys a degree of prosperity, not only unexampled, but greatly exceeding the most sanguine anticipations of its warmest friends.—Internal improvements have been carried on to an extent scarcely to be credited, and places a few months since covered with a dense forest, are now occupied by commodious dwellings. Our influence over the neighbouring tribes is rapidly extending, and I trust we shall be the means of diffusing civilization and christianity over this unhappy land."

It may be proper to invite the attention of the Society more particularly to some of the leading interests of the Colony and first,

COMMERCE.

This has rapidly increased during the year. The Liberia Herald announces the arrival of eighteen, and the departure of fourteen vessels in a single month; several of these however, were small schooners owned at the Colony. Forty-six vessels, twenty-one of which were American, visited the Colony in the course of the year, and the amount of exports was \$88,911. The trade is carried on by small vessels and private factories along the coast; also with the natives from various countries of the interior. Recent competition has diminished, and large importations of trade goods have reduced

the profits, but still the disposition to engage in it is excessive. Losses, however, which have been in some instances incurred by giving credit to the natives, and the failure of individuals, qualified neither by education nor experience for commercial pursuits, will probably correct the evil.

AGRICULTURE.

The Managers stated in their last Report, that with a view to encourage agriculture, which they regarded as indispensable to the prosperity of the Colony, the Colonial Agent had been instructed to increase the appropriations of land to such settlers as might be resolved to apply themselves to this pursuit. The Managers are not informed to what extent such appropriations have been made, but they are assured that the colonists generally are beginning to direct their thoughts and efforts more decidedly and successfully to the cultivation of the soil. It cannot be denied that the desire and expectation of immediate gain from trade, ignorance of the best methods of agriculture in a tropical climate, and a want of energy, industry and perseverance among many of the settlers, who vainly imagined that they could obtain a subsistence in Africa with little or no labour, have prevented those improvements which can alone render the Colony independent of foreign aid. Several individuals, however, have occupied themselves solely with the cultivation of their farms, and secured, not only the means of support for their families, but a surplus produce for the Colonial market. The coffee tree, which is indigenous all along the coast, begins to be cultivated, may be raised at a small expense, and will doubtless prove a source of wealth to the Colony. Indigo, cotton, the sugar cane, and other productions of tropical countries, will, at no remote period, reward and enrich the agricultural labourer. The Managers, resolved to leave nothing undone on their part to promote the interests of agriculture, have directed the Colonial Agent to set apart a small farm for the cultivation of coffee, that the method to be pursued, and the ad-

vantages to be derived from it, may be made apparent to the Colonists.

EDUCATION.

On this subject the Managers are happy to report a manifest improvement. The instructions of the Board, a summary of which was submitted to the last annual meeting, have been obeyed; schoolhouses erected at Monrovia, Caldwell and Millsburg (those at the two former, at an expense of \$400 each, that at the latter, of \$350); competent teachers appointed under the supervision of Trustees, and a new spirit of zeal in the cause of education awakened throughout the Colony. The system adopted, will afford the means of education in the most useful branches of knowledge to every child, and derives its support mainly from funds raised within the Colony.

RELATIONS OF THE COLONY TO THE NATIVE TRIBES.

In the last annual Report, the Society was informed that a native chief, with his people had sought the protection and placed himself under the authority of the laws of the Colony. Other chiefs and tribes have followed this example, and the Colonial Agent observes in a late letter, that the natives deem it no small privilege to be permitted to call themselves Americans. He adds further that the policy which has influenced our intercourse with them, is that of justice and humanity; and they will frequently, instead of abiding by their own laws and usages, prefer having their disputes referred to us for decision; and it is by no means unusual to see natives attending our Court of monthly sessions, either as plaintiffs or defendants; and such is the confidence they have in the justice of that tribunal, that its decrees are cheerfully acquiesced in, nor is the slightest murmur heard, even from the party against whom the decision has been given. Indeed, there is reason to believe, that nearly all the tribes in the neighbourhood, are disposed to yield up their independence for the additional peace and security

they would enjoy under the direction and guardianship of the Colony." During a recent visit of the Colonial Agent to one of the native towns on the north-eastern branch of the Montserado River, eight or ten of the chiefs, after consultation with each other, united in the request that they might be received and treated as subjects of the Colony; that settlements might be made on their territory, and expressed their confidence that in such case they would no longer be exposed to the incursions and cruelties of more powerful tribes. It is the desire of the Board and the purpose of the Colonial Government, to comply with such requests in all cases, except where, by the remoteness or peculiar situation of the applicants, it may be impossible to extend over them adequate control and protection. It is hoped and believed that the oppressed natives of Africa will find in the Colony of Liberia, a power friendly and christian, ready at all times to be exerted in defence of the helpless but confiding, and to confer upon them with a liberal hand, the inestimable blessings with which she is intrusted.

PROPOSED SETTLEMENT OF GRAND BASSA.

Measures have been taken for exploring the interior, and also for ascertaining the comparative advantages of different points on the coast for the founding of new settlements. A wide field is open for selection, since most of the chiefs desire that establishments should be made in their vicinity. The territory chosen as most favourable, and on which the Managers have directed that a settlement shall be forthwith commenced, is that of Grand Bassa, distant S. S. E. about eighty miles from Monrovia, intersected by the river St. Johns, of easy and safe access to vessels of eighty to a hundred tons, fertile, salubrious, and abounding in camwood, rice and cattle; and of which a beautiful island, near the mouth of the river, and a portion of the mainland on the north bank, were purchased several years ago for the Society, by the lamented Mr. Ashmun. The natives of this

country, are amiable and friendly, and disposed to sell their lands for a small consideration. The chiefs and headmen have recently sent a pressing invitation to the Colonial Agent to visit them, and establish a settlement among them; and every thing seems to indicate this as a position extremely eligible for the purposes of colonization.

The whole course of the Junk river (which unites with the sea thirty-five miles S. East of the Montserado, and is more than fifty miles long) has been examined during the year, and the country on both sides is represented as beautifully diversified—the soil a deep rich vegetable mould, covered with majestic forests, abounding in valuable ship timber, and offering many situations well suited for agricultural settlements. This whole region may soon be covered with coffee and cotton plantations; one of which in the opinion of the Agent, would be a fortune to any person who would properly cultivate it. “I presume,” he adds, “we could procure from fifteen to twenty thousand coffee plants, in our immediate vicinity.”

MORAL INTERESTS OF THE COLONY.

On this subject the Managers can only say that the various pamphlets and tracts lately introduced in regard to temperance, have wrought a striking change in the minds of the colonists, and many seem disposed to abandon entirely the use of ardent spirits. The Colonial Agent has given it as his opinion, that this article is extremely pernicious in the African climate; and will discourage by all the means in his power, the consumption of it within the Colony.

SLAVE TRADE.

On the subject of the slave trade, the Managers can add little to the information communicated in their last Report. Though in the immediate vicinity of Liberia, it has received some check, it is still prosecuted by the piratical of all nations, on nearly every part of the African Coast; nor can it be speedily suppressed, unless all Christendom shall unite

against it. The reproach alike of Europe and America and the curse of Africa, it is criminal for the civilized world longer to permit its enormities. Humanity and Religion call upon the rulers of all Christian nations to stigmatize it as the worst of piracies, and to unite their efforts for its utter and final extinction. Those who conduct this trade are enemies not only of the African, but of the human race; and atrocious acts of piracy have been committed by them during the last year, upon the vessels unoffending, and engaged in lawful commerce on the coast. On the 16th of June last, the Colonial Schooner Montserado was captured by a Spanish pirate off little Cape Mount; and her crew, consisting of eight persons, either conveyed away on board the Spanish vessel, or put to death. Two English ships in the Bight of Benin, had been, shortly before, taken by pirates, and their entire crews murdered. The dangers to which American commerce is exposed on the African coast, justifies, in the opinion of the Hon. Secretary of the Navy, the attention of the General Government; and the Managers are assured that some of our vessels of war will be ordered forthwith to repair thither for its protection.

In concluding this brief survey, the Managers avail themselves of the testimony of a distinguished naval officer, the late Commander of the Java, (who in this ship visited the Colony in February last) who, near the close of a letter, filled with interesting facts and suggestions, remarks:—"that there are many vast resources, yet undeveloped in Liberia, no one can entertain a doubt; that they will soon be brought forth and made available, by the enterprise and intelligence of the Colonists, is equally unquestionable.—How earnestly then should every philanthropist apply himself to aid and advance the operations of a Society, the object of which is, not only to elevate so large a portion of our fellow beings from the degrading relations in which they stand towards the rest of the human race, but to redeem from the thralldom of ignorance, superstition and vice, a whole continent. That these results are, under Provi-

dence, to be accomplished, is a conviction to which I have been brought by actual experience and scrutinizing observation."

Second:—In the United States, great and rapid changes are taking place in public sentiment, favourable to the views and objects of this Institution. Convinced that the principles and operations of the Society, when understood, must be approved by all reflecting and virtuous men; and that information in regard to them could be communicated to the public in no way so effectually as by permanent agencies, each occupying a particular field, but all together embracing the whole Union, the Board, early in the year, announced their plan of dividing the United States into five Districts, and employing the same number of Agents, whose time and talents should be exclusively devoted to the cause of the Society. The duties of these Agents, as prescribed by the Board, are to establish an efficient State or Territorial Society in each State or Territory—to organize, in concert with said State or Territorial Societies, Auxiliaries in the several counties or towns—to correspond and attend, when practicable, the annual meetings of such Societies—to further all applications from the people, to their Legislatures or Congress—to attend the annual meetings of State Legislatures and of ecclesiastical bodies—to keep an office at which subscriptions might be received, and whence the publications of the Society might be distributed—to promote collections by the Clergy annually on the Fourth of July—to obtain subscriptions on the plan of Mr. Gerrit Smith—to keep an account of applicants for a passage to the Colony, and to inform the free people of colour of its condition and advantages—to appoint subordinate agents, and open subscriptions throughout their district, and to correspond regularly with the Parent Society. This plan has, as yet, been but partially set in operation, owing to the difficulty of finding persons qualified and disposed to act as permanent Agents. Two appointments only have been made; that of the Rev. H. B. Bascom, for the middle, and of Rob-

ert S. Finley, for the Western district; the efforts of both which gentlemen have been successful. Other Agents have been employed temporarily in different sections of our country—many Auxiliary Societies organized—(among which are the State Societies of Massachusetts, and Mississippi, and very recently that of Louisiana)—the Fourth-of-July collections increased—various able essays and addresses published in behalf of the cause—several subscriptions obtained on the plan of Mr. Gerrit Smith, and the public mind far more generally excited to thought and activity, on the subject of African colonization.

Several State Legislatures have, since the last Anniversary, taken into consideration the plan of the Society; and those of Massachusetts and Kentucky have instructed their Representatives in Congress to invite to this plan the attention and aid of the General Government.

Encouraged by the representations of their Agents, the Managers announced to the public, in February last, their resolution to despatch six vessels with emigrants in the course of the year, provided the necessary funds could be obtained; but for six months, neither means nor emigrants were found to justify the execution of this purpose.

The liberal assistance of the New York City Colonization Society, enabled the Board to fit out the Brig *Criterion*, which, on the 2d of August, sailed from Norfolk with ample supplies and forty-six emigrants; thirty-nine of which were manumitted, on condition of their removal to Liberia. Eighteen of these were liberated by a single individual (Mrs. Elizabeth Greenfield) near Natchez, Mississippi; while the remainder (the Rev. Mr. Cæsar and wife, of Philadelphia excepted) were from the lower counties of Virginia and North Carolina.

The Pennsylvania Colonization Society in the month of April, placed more than three thousand dollars at the disposal of the Parent Board, to enable it to purchase a schooner for the use of the Colony. A beautiful fast-sailing, coppered and copper-fastened vessel, of from sixty to eighty

tons, was built at Baltimore in the course of the summer, under the direction of a Committee appointed by the Managers; and having received the name of Margaret Mercer, in honour of a distinguished benefactress of the Society, on the 21st of October, with a select crew (captain and mate excepted) of men of colour, a valuable cargo of trade goods and nine emigrants, six of which were manumitted by a venerable Clergyman of Indiana (the Rev. Dr. Matthews), sailed for Liberia. This schooner is well armed, and will be placed under the exclusive control of the Colonial Agent, and will enable him with ease to visit different parts of the Coast; to ascertain the situations most eligible for new settlements; to purchase, at reduced expense, provisions for newly arrived emigrants who may be dependent on the Society; to acquire information concerning the people, the products and commerce of Africa, and in various ways to promote the interests and extend the influence of the Colony.

An event of the most unexpected and alarming nature (the Managers allude to the insurrection in Virginia), has powerfully awakened public attention, not only throughout that Commonwealth, but the whole nation, to the condition of the people of colour, and the plan proposed by this Society, of colonizing them in Africa. May we not hope that He, who alone educes good from evil, may so overrule this late tragic event, as to make it subserve a cause, tending alike to promote the happiness of the free people of colour, the regeneration of Africa, and the welfare of our country.— While the citizens of Virginia and of the other States of the South feel urged more deeply to consider, and generously to aid the Society, the free people of colour see clearly, that by a removal to Africa alone they can secure the best blessings of life to themselves and their posterity. Many of these latter, of irreproachable character, from the lower country of Virginia and N. Carolina have recently implored the assistance of the Society; and the ship James Perkins, chartered for their special accommodation, sailed on the 9th of last month from Norfolk, with 339 emigrants, most

of them from the single county of Southampton. Funds only are wanting to enable the Society immediately to transport a much larger number; and although the Managers have already incurred expenses much beyond their present resources, yet so urgently are they appealed to in behalf of many worthy persons now waiting to depart, that they have resolved to despatch a vessel with more than one hundred emigrants, during the next month. Nearly fifty of these are slaves liberated by the late Dr. Bradley, of Georgia, on condition of their settlement in Liberia, and their freedom may depend upon their speedy removal.

The Managers of the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Maryland, have lately renewed their exertions to extend their influence and increase their funds, and through their assistance the Schooner *Orion* has been fitted out for the Colony, and sailed from Baltimore on the 26th of October, with a respectable Physician, Dr. Hall, and thirty-one emigrants, all from that State. The Board have reason to regard this late effort in Maryland, as but preliminary to more effectual movements, and to believe that this State will be exceeded by none in vigor and liberality of action to promote the cause of the Society. With a State upon her border, freed from the evil with which she is afflicted, her people will more naturally turn their thoughts to the subject of her coloured population, and feel that its gradual diminution will contribute essentially to her prosperity.

A deep interest in the objects of the Society is felt in the Western and South-Western States; and in compliance with the wishes and for the encouragement of the efforts of those who have already liberally contributed in that section of our country, to promote its designs, the Managers, some months ago, authorized their Agent to fit out an expedition from New Orleans, and appropriated \$5000 for this purpose.—The Schooner *Crawford*, with 21 emigrants, (accompanied by a respectable Physician, Dr. Charles G. Shane, of Cincinnati, who generously offered his services) well supplied with stores and medicines, sailed from that port for the

Colony, on the 13th of last month. Many more are desirous of emigrating from that region, but timely arrangements could not be made to receive them in this expedition.

The measures either adopted or under consideration in several of the Legislatures of the Southern States, in relation to the coloured population, seem to indicate a disposition to make full experiment of the scheme which, with scanty means, and amid numerous and great difficulties, has been prosecuted by the Society with such encouraging success, but for the complete execution of which, it has, from the first, looked to the united powers of the States, and to the Federal Government.

In the month of April, Elliott Cresson, a member of the society of Friends in Philadelphia, who had, for some time, been zealously engaged in promoting the interests of the Society, was authorized to visit England, to confer with those philanthropic men there, whose labours have for years been directed to the suppression of the slave trade, and the civilization of Africa, and to invite to the cause of this Institution, such manifestations of regard, as, in their judgment, it might merit. It will give this meeting pleasure to know, that the statements of Mr. Cresson have been well received, and that he has been assured of the cordial support of many eminent friends of Africa and mankind; and that several public journals of distinction have declared their approbation of the Society, and have opened their columns in its defence. The society of Friends in London have appropriated £2000 to aid their brethren in North Carolina to colonize the free people of colour under their care; and several liberal donations have been made more directly to the Society. The venerable Thomas Clarkson, now sinking under a weight of years, and almost blind, listened to the details of the Society's operations with an enthusiastic delight, such, as a friend remarked, he had not manifested for twenty years; and in a letter to Mr. Cresson, observes, "For myself, I am free to say, that of all things that have been going on in our favour since 1787, when

the abolition of the slave trade was first seriously proposed that which is going on in the United States is the most important. It surpasses every thing which has yet occurred. No sooner had your Colony been established on Cape Montserado, than there appeared a disposition among the owners of slaves to give them freedom voluntarily and without compensation, and to allow them to be sent to the land of their Fathers, so that you have many thousands redeemed, without any cost for their redemption. To me this is truly astonishing. Can this have taken place without the intervention of the spirit of God?"* The Managers rejoice that Liberia is becoming an object of interest to other nations.—Nor can they doubt that when its character, the purposes for which it was founded, and which it promises to fulfil, shall be understood, it will command the sympathies, and respect of the civilized world.

Some of the more prominent objections urged against the Society may deserve a brief notice. They may be all embraced in the three following:

First:—That the Society is wrong in its motives.

Second:—That it pursues a bad end; or uses means unjustifiable in accomplishing its end.

* Mr. Wilberforce expressed himself in a note to Mr. Cresson, in the following terms:—"You have gladdened my heart by convincing me, that sanguine as had been my hopes of the happy effects to be produced by your Institution, all my anticipations are scanty and cold compared with the reality. This may truly be deemed a pledge of the Divine favor, and believe me, no Briton, I had almost said no American can take a livelier interest than myself, in your true greatness and glory.—While I am writing, a passage in Scripture occurs to me, which I have often read, but never so well understood, at least never so strikingly felt as now. In speaking of that new world in which it is said there shall be no more sorrow or pain, it is added, '*And there shall be no more sea.*' May I not be permitted to apply this to the anticipation of that blessed period, when the Atlantic shall no more separate the two greatest depositories the earth contains of Christian principles and practice.—To my feelings we are already one—I can truly say even now, '*There is no more sea.*' May the mutual attachment of the inhabitants of our two countries, become stronger and stronger, however diversified in body, having but one soul, and almost anticipating that better world, where all divisions being forever done away, all shall unite in one song of thanksgiving, and peace and love and joy shall be complete and everlasting."

Third:—That the plan proposed by the Society is impracticable.

First:—It is said that motives of selfishness gave existence to the Society, and have sustained it. But will any virtuous man who is acquainted with the characters of those who united in laying the foundations of this Society, bring against them the charge, not of selfishness only, but of hypocrisy, in professing to be actuated by motives to which they were strangers? Or will any such man presume to denounce as hypocritical and selfish, the great community of patriotic and religious citizens of every class, denomination, and State in this Union, who are now contributing to the support of the Society? To what selfish motive can the liberal donations annually made to the Society, by numerous individuals and churches in the Middle and Northern States be ascribed? Little, if at all afflicted with the evil of a coloured population, they generously bring their offerings to aid the cause of this Institution; nor can their conduct be explained but by admitting that it results from motives the most pure, the most disinterested. He, then, who urges this objection, casts reproach upon many of the honoured dead, and upon more of the wise and pious living. He accuses hundreds, yea, thousands of patriotic and christian men, of falsehood, hypocrisy, selfishness and meanness. Proof to support his accusations he has none, and must be left to answer for his uncharitableness and presumption before the tribunal of that public which he so causelessly condemns.

The second objection is, *that the Society proposes a bad end, and uses improper and unworthy means.* To this the Board reply, that if it be true, that our free coloured population are degraded and unhappy, that their residence amongst us is attended by evil consequences to society, that causes beyond the control of the human will must prevent their ever rising to equality with the whites; that in Africa they may possess the privileges and freedom of the most favoured people; not only be happy, but useful; elevate the

character of their race, and impart civilization and christianity to the immense multitudes of that land; suppress the slave trade; change a continent, now morally a desert, into a fruitful field, and establish and perpetuate liberty and religion where error and superstition have for centuries darkened and debased humanity: if these be facts, no end surely can be more beneficent than that proposed by the Society.

In regard to the deplorable condition of the free people of colour in this country, and the sad consequences to themselves and to society, resulting from the peculiarity of their circumstances, there is believed to be but one opinion. Nothing can be plainer than that they labour under great disadvantages, that they are mostly uneducated, poor, and without those moral restraints which self-respect, concern for reputation, and the hope and prospect of improvement, impose upon other classes of the community. We know there are exceptions to this remark, that there are examples of intellectual and moral worth, and that not a few of them are by profession and practice, Christians. Yet the Managers consider it clear that causes exist, and are operating to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent as a class, in this country, which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of any human power. Christianity cannot do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the coloured man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity; but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature. Yet, were it otherwise, did no cause exist but prejudice, to prevent the elevation, in this country, of our free coloured population, still, were this prejudice so strong (which is indeed the fact) as to forbid the hope of any great favourable change in their condition, what folly for them to reject blessings in another land, because it is prejudice which debars them from such blessings in this. But in truth no legislation, no humanity, no benevolence can make them insensible to their past condition, can unfetter their minds, can relieve them

from the disadvantages resulting from inferior means and attainments, can abridge the right of freemen to regulate their social intercourse and relations, which will leave them forever a separate and depressed class in the community; in fine, nothing can in any way do much here to raise them from their miseries to respectability, honour and usefulness. What more unkind, then, than to excite hopes in their minds, never to be realized; what more cruel than to induce them to forego the rich inheritance opening before them and their children, in Africa, for rights and privileges in this land, which they can never attain, and which, if they could, would to them be nearly worthless. The experiment of the Society has fully proved that the free people of colour colonized in Africa, feel the influence of all those motives which tend to give activity, strength and dignity to the human mind; that they find themselves in the best school for discipline, invention and improvement; in the possession of means of wealth, honour and usefulness; that they can aid to suppress the slave trade, and to enlighten and bless their long-afflicted African brethren; that standing alone and unshackled, they look abroad upon a country ample and fertile, and offering to their industry and enterprise its unnumbered products and resources, and realize that to them it belongs to cover a continent with civilized institutions and the temples of God.

The plan of the Society, however, is not only beneficent in its effects upon the free people of colour, and through them upon Africa, but in its prosecution a moral influence is exerted, to which it would seem impossible for any one to object, favourable to the voluntary and gradual emancipation and removal of the slaves. One of the most frequently urged, yet most groundless objections, then, to the Society, that it strengthens the bonds and darkens the prospects of the slave population, is refuted by facts, numerous and undeniable. Many who were recently slaves in the United States, have been sent by their masters as freemen to Liberia. Large numbers are now offered to the Society, (not

*See Captain Abels' Letter in the Appendix.

the aged, infirm, and worthless, but the young, vigorous and profitable,) and funds alone are wanting to enable it to receive and transport them. On this point the Managers are happy to cite the opinion of the venerable James Madison, as expressed in a recent letter. "Many circumstances," he observes, "at the present moment, seem to concur in brightening the prospects of the Society, and cherishing the hope that the time will come when the dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country, and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed, and by means consistent with justice, peace, and the general satisfaction; thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty and the full benefit of its great example. I never considered the main difficulty of the great work as lying in the deficiency of emancipations, but in the inadequacy of the asylums for such a growing mass of population, and in the great expense of removing it to its new home. The spirit of private manumission, as the laws may permit, and the exiles may consent, is increasing, and will increase, and there are sufficient indications that the public authorities, in slave-holding states, are looking forward to interpositions in different forms that must have a powerful effect."

The Managers believe it is admitted by all enlightened men, that a separation of the coloured population from amongst us, provided it be for their benefit, and effected with satisfaction to all parties concerned, is desirable.— They know not that any one doubts that on these conditions their removal would contribute to the welfare of our country. Every one must perceive that a society in which all the members are equal in their social and political privileges, and rights, is preferable to that wherein classes are divided by a physical distinction that renders such equality impossible. The object or end proposed by this Society then, in whatever light we view it, appears most beneficent. The design has been well said to be a "Circle of Philanthropy, every segment of which tells and testifies to the beneficence of the whole."

Although a large portion of the funds of the Society is derived from annual collections in the churches on or about the Fourth of July, the Managers have learnt with surprise, that some Clergymen and Congregations have declined uniting in such collections, on the ground that the *Society is not, in their view, a strictly Religious Institution*. But is an Institution the less religious because while it conduces positively, powerfully, and extensively, to promote the moral welfare of men, it confers on them likewise the highest temporal blessings? Is the Colonization Society less a religious Institution because while establishing in Africa the Christian Religion, and dispensing far and wide among heathen tribes its inestimable benefits, it relieves the temporal distresses, and improves the intellectual, social, and political condition of a numerous class of mankind? If Christianity requires as duty of those who profess it, efforts for the eternal interests of men, it no less plainly enforces the duty of promoting their temporal advantage. If the former is to be done, the latter should not be left undone; and no Institution can be more Christian than that which contributes to the accomplishment of both. Whether the means by which these objects are accomplished be direct or indirect, is of no importance, provided they be judicious, and not prohibited by the Divine Word.

But it may be said, though the Society proposes, it is true, a good end, the means used to effect it are unjustifiable. And what are these means? From its origin, the Society has addressed itself with facts and arguments to the understandings and hearts of the American people.—Believing the plan adopted by it, worthy of universal approbation, all its purposes and measures have been disclosed to the public. It has sought the best information in regard to the country to be colonized, and presented the results of its inquiries fully and promptly to the community. The great benefits expected from the enterprise of the Society to those who remove, to the United States, and to Africa, have been depicted and held up for observation to excite and secure the means for its execution. The condition and prospects of the

Free People of Colour in this country, and what they may reasonably anticipate in Africa, have been truly represented as a sufficient reason why they should consent, and be assisted, to emigrate. The proceedings of the Board of Managers and of their Agents in Africa, are regularly published; all donations acknowledged, and an account rendered annually, exhibiting the manner in which the funds have been expended. Every thing is fair, free, and open, in the design and operations of the Society. It interferes with no rights, violates no obligations, gives assistance to such only as choose to emigrate, and depends for all its resources upon the free-will offerings of the community. It has no power but its moral influence, no strength but in public opinion.

If it be objected that the Society has sought aid from the National Government, to this it may be replied that in its application it has been sustained by the opinions of nearly half of the State Legislatures in the Union, that it has presumed Congress to know its own powers, and that it has solicited such aid only as in the judgment of Congress might be constitutionally granted.

The third objection is, that the plan of the Society is impracticable.

That a colony of free coloured people can be established at a small expense and prosper in Africa, is no longer problematical, but is already demonstrated by the Society. Such a colony is established. Many desire to emigrate, and their removal and settlement in Liberia may surely with additional means be effected. Sufficient territory can be obtained, and at no great expense, to accommodate, and if properly cultivated, to subsist, the entire coloured population of the United States. If the scheme of the Society on a *large scale* then be impracticable, it must be on account either of the African climate creating an indisposition to emigrate, or destroying those who emigrate, or from inability to command the necessary funds. But in truth, under all the disadvantages inevitable in founding a colony, with scanty means,

in an untried climate, and a remote, rude, uncleared country, no such mortality has occurred in Liberia as to prevent emigration, or excite apprehension for the safety and progress of the Colony. The experience of the Society proves conclusively—as the Managers have before said—that the great mass of our coloured people are little exposed to danger by a transition to Africa, and every successive year as the country becomes more open, settlements established in the interior, and the diseases and their cause better understood, this danger will diminish. No people (it has been often remarked) enjoy health more uniformly than the natives of Africa: hence no occasional mortality (should it occur) among the new settlers, can long retard greatly the growth the Colony. It is morally certain that a disposition among our free coloured population to secure the advantages of the Colony will increase as these advantages and a knowledge of them increase, which must surely be the result of greater regularity and frequency of commercial intercourse.

It has been thought by some that pecuniary resources adequate to the accomplishment of this great work could not be obtained. To say nothing of the fact that in the progress of this work the expense of removal (already reduced, including a subsistence for six months in Liberia, to thirty-five dollars for each emigrant) must be greatly diminished, and of the certainty that when the tide of opinion shall strongly set among the people of colour in favour of emigration many will defray their own expenses, the sum annually saved in the State of New York, as reported by the New York Temperance Society, by the reduction in the sales of ardent spirits would transport more than the *whole annual increase of the coloured population of the United States*.—And will any one believe that for a great national and philanthropic object of lasting interest to this country and Africa; individuals, the States, and the National Government united cannot raise a fund equal to that, saved by the partial disuse of ardent spirits, in a single state?

A noble-minded individual in Kentucky has just subscri-

bed a thousand dollars a year for ten years to the Society, and expressed the hope that ten other individuals, at least, might be found disposed to make similar subscriptions.— Were all the friends to this Institution to give an equal proportion according to their means, annual funds would be secured sufficient to carry forward this enterprise to a complete and glorious consummation. But if the enterprise be deemed, as the Board think it may, *strictly national*, the powers of the States. and of Congress, may be invoked and granted to effect it. And here the Managers feel it their duty to say that some of the most eminent and experienced statesmen in the country, have expressed the opinion, that an appropriation of a portion of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands would be the aid most unexceptionable and the most effective that could be devised. Nor should it be forgotten that whatever appropriations may be made by Government for this object would in great part be expended in giving employment to our shipping and to citizens of the United States.

Before closing this Report, the Managers would suggest one or two reasons, which should at this time especially arouse the efforts, and call forth the liberal contributions of its friends.

And *First*, The public mind, as has been before remarked, is strongly and very generally excited on the subject presented in this Report. Events, not soon to be forgotten, have forced it upon public attention; and the spirit of inquiry concerning what should and can be done in regard to it is universal. This then is the time when the friends of the Society may most successfully bring its principles, history and measures, before the American people. They may now be sure of a hearing, and expect that the facts and arguments they propose will be generally and deeply considered.

Second. Not only is this subject attracting attention and awakening inquiry, but the general current of opinion is plainly setting in favour of the plan of the Society. Many

who have but partially reflected upon it, are inclining to a friendly judgment, and only require additional information to fix them in the resolution of yielding to it their support. The season then is auspicious, much may be done by well directed efforts, and the friends of the Society have it in their power, with comparative ease, to secure the countenance and aid of the nation. The Board trust that Auxiliary Societies, and all who desire the prosperity of the Institution, will improve the advantages of the crisis, for augmenting its funds and extending its usefulness. Let them not be silent while the nation listens and is ready to consider every reason that can be adduced in behalf of their cause.

Though encouragements for activity among the friends of the Society are numerous and great, yet it should not be concealed that another reason for such activity is found in the zeal and efforts of its enemies. That there are a few who boldly denounce the Society's principles and proceedings, as inhuman and unchristian, and that they are deeply intent upon destroying its reputation, is not less true, than that disappointment awaits them, should those who have both the disposition and means stand forth to repel their attacks. A correct statement of facts will counteract their influence, and be convincing evidence, that the Society is aiming to accomplish a virtuous end by virtuous means; an end perfectly attainable with the public patronage and the favour of Heaven.

Let the friends of the Society then proceed with renewed hope and vigour in their work. They are urged to do this by the signs of the times, the state of public sentiment, by ten thousand human voices, and the more solemn, and scarcely less audible voice of God. They are summoned to do this, by interest and compassion; by duty and charity; by the most sacred obligations, and the most touching appeals. The suffering of one land, and the more miserable of another, put in their united claims. America, glorying in her freedom, stretches out her hand to the work; and Africa, in tears and in chains, looks to it as her hope and salvation.

American Colonization Society, in account current with Richard Smith, Treasurer.

DR.

To cash paid for collecting emigrants,	\$ 106 62
cash paid for transportation of emigrants, subsistence after their arrival, and for supplies for the Colony,	12,304 52
salaries of Physician and Colonial Agent,	2,525 22
salaries of officers & Agents, and various contingent expenses in the U. States,	6,350 35
support of two coloured boys at school,	250 01
salaries of Officers at the Colony, not including Colonial Agent and Physician,	1,482 55
cost, fitting out, &c. of Sch'r. Margaret Mercer, ..	4,811 26
cash paid James C. Dunn, the same being for subscriptions to African Repository,	157 62
cash paid to the African Education Society, the same having been erroneously placed to the credit of the Colonization Society,	77
counterfeit note received November 3d,	3
balance on hand, including \$92 counterfeit,	11,090 50
	<hr/>
	<u>\$39,158 65</u>

CR.

By balance from last year, (\$92 counterfeit,) ..	\$7,056 07
donations from individuals,	3,809 94
Auxiliary Societies,	5,416 27
annual subscriptions,	51
collections by Agents,	2,006 56
4th of July collections,	8,767 95
life member subscriptions,	2,278 58
subscriptions on the plan of Gerrit Smith,	3,964 51
do J. H. McClure,	1,000 00
subscriptions to African Repository,	425 12
Loan by the Pennsylvania Col. Society,	3,235 78
Legacies,	1,133
Subscriptions to the Liberia Herald,	8
Interest on drafts of J. Mechlin, for prompt pay't.	5 87
	<hr/>
	<u>\$39,158 65</u>
By balance as per contra,	\$11,090 50
E. E.	<u><u></u></u>

APPENDIX.

(A.)

TESTIMONIES IN FAVOUR OF THE COLONY.

[The following letters from gentlemen of great respectability, who visited Liberia during the last year (one of them, Capt. Abels, so late as the 27th of December last), will afford the highest encouragement to the friends of the Society. Captain Kennedy commanded the United States' Frigate Java. We invite the attention of our readers to these letters, particularly to Captain Abels', as giving the true state of the Colony at the present time.]

Captain Kennedy's Letter.

NORFOLK, JUNE 22, 1831.

SIR:—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 11th inst. requesting my opinion of the condition, prospects and necessities of the Colony at Liberia, and of the best method to be adopted by the Society for the more effectual prosecution of the great work in which they are engaged.

I hope I need not assure you that it affords me great gratification to comply with your request, and to lay before you a statement of the facts which presented themselves to me during the visit I made to Montserado, in the Frigate Java, under my command.

The wisdom and talent which distinguish the councils of the Society to which you belong, and the vast materials which your experience and zeal have enabled you to collect, cause great diffidence on my part in the suggestion of any new plan of operations. I was, however, not an idle observer during my stay among the Colonists, and the conclusions which pressed upon my mind, as the results of my inquiries, shall be most cheerfully submitted for your better judgment and consideration.

It may not be improper to observe in the outset, that my inquiries were commenced under auspices very unfavourable to the practicability of the scheme of your Society; for while, I trust, I yielded unfeigned acknowledgment of the piety and purity of purpose which governed its worthy and disinterested projectors, yet the vast difficulties attending the prosecution of their labours, and the very problematical results, in the want of success, left an impression upon my mind, altogether unfavourable to the Institution—under these impressions, therefore, I commenced my inquiry with great caution. I sought out the most shrewd and intelligent of the Colonists, many of whom were personally known to me, and by long and weary conversations, endeavoured to elicit from them any dissatisfaction with their condition (if such existed) or any latent design to return to their native country—neither of these did I observe; on the contrary, I thought I could perceive that they considered that they had started into a new existence; that, disencumbered of the mortifying relations in which they formerly stood in society—they felt themselves proud in their attitude, and seemed conscious that while they were the

founders of a new Empire, they were prosecuting the noble purpose of the regeneration of the land of their fathers.

I was pleased to observe that they were impressed with the vast importance of a proper education, not only of their children, but of the children of the natives; and that to this they looked confidently as the means of effecting their high object, namely, the civilization of their benighted brethren in Africa.

I observed with great satisfaction, that their children, in many instances, could converse in the languages of the tribes by which the Colony is surrounded. Thus the obstacles which formerly embarrassed its commerce with the interior, and which, by the by, are even now but few, must in a very short time cease entirely to exist. Most of the articles of traffic which can be profitably used in barter with the natives, are familiar to your readers; but there are yet some which have not employed the enterprise of our citizens, and of those embraced in their speculations, many improvements in quality might advantageously be enumerated. The inhabitants of King Boatswain's town, (one hundred and eighty miles up the St. Paul's River, and twenty miles from it, which empties into the bay of Montserado) interchange with the most friendly dispositions towards the Colonists.

In the article of salt, more especially, most advantageous traffic is conducted, and yet susceptible of great increase; in bartering with that article, the Colonists readily receive in gold dust, ivory, dye-wood, &c. at the rate of two dollars per quart.—It is to me a matter of astonishment, that our enterprising citizens have not sought in that particular article, a channel for the most profitable speculation. An extent of eight or ten leagues South-West of the Cape, is well adapted for the making of salt by evaporation, with but comparatively little labour. One extended salt port, indeed the Isle of Mayo (one of the Cape de Verds), only eight or nine days' sail from the Montserado, would furnish abundance of salt for the commercial purposes of the Colony, at a low price.

I would recommend for the better prosecution of this traffic, that the salt should be imported in iron pots and kettles of various sizes, as they would be disposed of at a very great price.

It is hardly necessary to say that guns, pistols, beads of various colours, checks and various coloured calicoes, flints, &c. constitute a source of abundant profit in this traffic. Powder, more especially demands attention; that which is received from foreign vessels (and I think very likely from our own,) is so damaged and worthless, that it serves hardly any useful purposes; so inferior is its strength, that the natives, in their attacks upon the elephant, are compelled to load the barrels of their pieces half way to the muzzle, and for the leaden ball, to substitute a dart or spear, made expressly to fit the calibre of the gun; short muskets, carrying a two ounce ball, (particularly if loaded in the breech like the late invented rifles,) would be found a most saleable article.

It can hardly be expected that I can throw any additional light upon this part of my subject—and I will proceed to consider, somewhat at large, the condition of the Colony, as regards the progress of its improvements, and its deficiency in certain articles of indispensable utility and necessity.

It is known to you that the Colonists are erecting a mill at the falls of the St. Paul's river. This has been for a long time a desideratum; but yet, for its more effectual operation on the affairs of the Colony, I would suggest, for the facilitating the descent of produce from above the falls to Millsburg, that a small steam boat of light draught be built, and employed to tow the produce boats and traffic boats to the falls, and up the river. From the falls to the mouth of the river, there can be

no manner of difficulty in its transportation in boats manned by Kroos, or Kroomen, natives of the coast, a hardy, industrious, honest, and intelligent race, nearly all speaking English. They are emphatically termed "the workers of the coast," and can be hired for 20 cents per day. Other changes and improvements in the affairs of the Colony occurred to me; many of these suggested themselves to me from conversations with the Agent, Dr. Mechlin, a gentleman of intelligence, and admirable qualifications for the very important duties and responsibilities confided to him.

In the first place, the gun carriages of the fort which commands the harbour, are in a state of decay; and inasmuch as the "dry worm" is in that climate exceedingly destructive to all "dead wood," or wood not growing, repairs will be always required at great expense and inconvenience.

To remedy this, I took the liberty of suggesting to the Honorable Secretary of the Navy, in my report, the experiment of substituting iron carriages, for the artillery of the Colony.

Again, the Colonial Schooner, as guarda costa, is totally unfit for the purpose for which it was designed, whether in size, armament, or in complement of men; she could neither resist the attacks nor prevent the operations of the numerous pirates and slavers that infest the coast. The present commander, Thompson, is a brave man, enterprising and competent—and with a schooner of 90 or 100 tons, manned with 40 men, shipped in the United States for that service, and carrying a large 9 or 12 pounder a midships, and two 18 or 24 pound carronades, would be fully able to carry into execution the purposes of the service in which he is engaged.* Until the funds of the Society can furnish the means of carrying into effect this idea, I suggested to the Honorable Secretary of the Navy, the propriety of employing one of our national schooners, such as the Shark, or Porpoise, with a crew composed principally of blacks, as a regular cruiser for the protection of the Colonists, suppressing the slave trade, and of determining correctly, the latitude and longitude of all the head lands between Cape Anne, including Cape Anne Shoals (which are very extensive and dangerous), and Cape Palmas, or as far as the Island of Fernando Po, at the mouth of the river Cameroons, in the Gulf of Guinea. It is a fact, that none of the charts that I have seen, indicate the correct longitude, or even latitude of that part of the coast; they sometimes err from 5 to 10 miles in latitude, and from 8 to 30 in longitude.

There are many articles immediately wanted by the Colonists; for instance—a seine. I left one with them, which was considered as a very great acquisition, and should have left twine also for its repairs, but had none on board to spare.—They require also rammers and sponges for their guns, cross-cut saws, and more especially one or two sets of "carry-log" wheels; the tongues and axletrees can be procured there, and a draft of them sent to them, that they may know how to complete them; the wheels should be such as those used in the Navy Yard at Gosport, having the tyre covering from 4 to 6 inches; these are indispensable in clearing new and spongy ground, or for the purpose of transporting timber from the forests near Millsburg.

I would recommend, moreover, that all vessels bound to the Colony should touch at Port Praya, (Cape de Verdes) and lay in a supply of vegetable seed, asses and sheep.

*The fine schooner, *Margaret Mercer*, is now at the Colony. The Schooner here spoken of was captured by pirates.

It gives me pleasure to state, that the Colonists are turning their attention to the cultivation of coffee. That this article of produce is to prove a source of vast wealth to the colonists, there can be no doubt; the labour and expense of its cultivation will be comparatively small; indeed, they have but to clear away the forest trees, and the plantations are ready to their hands. There are two descriptions of the plant indigenous—one a shrub, evidently the same as the Mocha, but yielding a berry of superior flavour; the other a tree, frequently attaining the height of 40 feet; a specimen of the latter, I brought with me to Cuba, in the Java, and left with Mr. Shaler, our Consul, for the Botanic Garden of that City. I had also several of the shrubs, or small growth, but they all perished by salt water getting to them.

That there are many vast resources, yet undeveloped in Liberia, no one can entertain a doubt; that they will soon be brought forth and made available by the enterprise and intelligence of the Colonists, is equally unquestionable—how earnestly then should every philanthropist apply himself to aid and advance the operations of a society, the object of which is, not only to elevate so large a portion of our fellow beings from the degrading relations in which they stand towards the rest of the human race—but to redeem from the thralldom of ignorance, superstition and vice, a whole continent. That these great results are, under Providence, to be accomplished, is a conviction to which I have been brought by actual experience and scrutinizing observation.

To those who have been the protectors of this undertaking, how enviable the joy derived from the anticipation; and when the happy result shall have been consummated, what monument so glorious to their memory as the gratitude of millions disenthralled!

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

REV. R. R. GURLEY.

EDWARD P. KENNEDY.

P. S. It would be well, perhaps, to state, that, in a conversation with one of the Kroos, or Kroomen, I was informed by him, that he came with his wife from Timbuctoo by water, with the exception of twenty-five miles, the distance that city stands from the Niger; he came down the St. Paul's to Montserado.

In a few days I will take the liberty of sending you, through the Navy Department, an abstract of my cruize in the Java, from Mahon along the coast of Africa, and homewards through the West Indies, which you can trace on a chart of the Atlantic. It may, I think, be useful to vessels returning from Liberia. Mr. Watson, of Washington, late sailing Master of the Java, will cheerfully assist, and give you such information on the subject as you may require. He is a young officer of great observation, and an excellent navigator.

It is customary in leaving the Cape homeward bound, to clear along the shore, endeavoring, by making short tacks, to receive the benefit of the land breeze, and thereby get to windward, out of the variables, and into the trades; but it is a mistake, and also dangerous, as the currents are unsettled, and may throw you on the Shoals of Cape Anne; very green water extends from abreast Cape Anne Shoals, to nearly Cape Montserado, one hundred miles from the coast, and no soundings—by keeping your wind on leaving the Cape, and getting to the Westward, even if you are driven as far South as the line, you will, after passing through the variables in the *Thunder Sea*, (so called by mariners owing to the incessant thunder and lightning and rain with but little wind—the appearance is truly awful, the heavens and sea appear to be united by flame—this sea lies between the 18th and 20th degrees of West longitude,) take the trades, increasing as you advance to the westward,

with delightful weather. I pursued that course with the *Java*, contrary to all the tracks on the charts and sailing directory. The authors, I think, know very little what they have written about.

The *Java* made from the Cape, (notwithstanding we were becalmed near the coast six days) a remarkably quick passage to St. Thomas. E. P. K.

Captain Weaver's Letter.

[Captain Weaver visited the Colony in April last.]

WASHINGTON, JAN. 1, 1832.

SIR:

Nature seems to have ordained, that on a removal from a temperate clime to the torrid zone of Africa, in order to become acclimated, it is necessary, in most cases, to pass through the ordeal of fever. The friends of the Colony must not flinch from the question. Investigation will render that ordeal lighter. It is, I believe, a true assertion, that the natives of that part of the coast are uncommonly healthy—*so are the acclimated emigrants!* In future, when emigrants are sent there from the interior of this country, I would earnestly recommend, that the detention on the seaboard, and at the mouth of the St. Paul's and Montserado rivers, should be as short as possible. By transferring them measurably beyond the atmosphere of the Mangrove swamps at the mouths of those rivers, I have no doubt their health will be protected in the ratio that the change of situation is diminished. It must be regarded as a strong fact in defence of the position I have assumed, that of the emigrants by the *Volador*, nearly cotemporaneous with the *Carolinian*, only two patients were lost. If such was the different success in the recited cases, it appears to me more just to attribute the misfortune of the *Carolinian's* people to other causes than to the fault of the climate of Liberia. With equal justice, might the climate of Virginia be assailed, from the first settlement, Jamestown, having proved an unhealthy location.

The charge of unhealthiness against Liberia, for the colored races cannot be supported—it is the birthplace of the black man, to which his constitution is peculiarly adapted; and though estranged for a time from his native clime, nature will undoubtedly triumphantly resume her sway, whenever he returns to the land of his fathers—Africa is the black man's home physically. Morally he should aspire for a residence within her boundaries. He is *there* the Lord of the soil—all mankind are *there* his equals—the distinction of color is *there* against the white man; for in Africa he is a sort of "*lusus naturæ*," an object to be pointed at by the finger of curiosity, an object of dread for his power and of hatred for his avarice. Sir, I have faith in the success of the Colony of Liberia—you have many difficulties to encounter, but they are not insurmountable. If our government will deign to foster that Colony, a very short time will suffice, to render it of great importance in a commercial point of view, independent of home considerations. In the tobacco trade we can have no rivals. The North and the South are deeply interested in the prosperity of our sable Colony. The North will find a vent for her surplus manufactures, and the South a home and a refuge for a portion of its population, which every good citizen must wish to see speedily transferred thither—I mean the free colored population of the United States. The cost of transportation is by many persons of intelligence deemed an insurmountable barrier. Avarice brought them here! Shall we make the painful admission, that that vice, so far exceeds the combined virtues of a Christian community as to render its deeds irrevocable? No, Sir; it is in the power of the American people, with a due understanding of

the case, and of the magnitude of the object, to effect much by a simultaneous movement. The abolition of slavery is not supposed. I am fully aware of its present impracticability—but allow me to make a rough calculation as to the feasibility of removing the free colored people of the twenty-four States, from this country to Liberia—that population I will assume at 300,000 souls, requiring 600 ships to transport them, men, women and children—\$6000 is a sum for which a ship competent to the voyage can be chartered. Thus we have a sum of \$3,600,000, an amount of money requisite to disburden ourselves and found a Christian empire in Africa. After the payment of the National debt, to what more hallowed purpose, and more to the glory of the United States, could a surplus revenue be applied? Could that object be effected, gradual emancipation would probably follow, in the States of Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, upon condition of transplantation in Africa. The corn-growing States, relieved from that system which has brought their prosperity to so low an ebb, we would again see them rivalling with their superior climate, the industry and productiveness of the North.

Each individual State, I have shown, is interested in the successful colonization of Liberia. If their combined energies could be brought to operate with the General Government, how much longer would the difficulty under which we labor, be deemed insurmountable? That liberal and enlightened views on this question are now being indulged I am gratified to find, and I sincerely hope the warmest expectations of the friends of your Society may be fully realized.

I have the honor to remain, very respectfully, &c. &c.

WILLIAM A. WEAVER.

Captain Abels' Letter.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10, 1832.

Dear Sir: Having just arrived in the United States from the Colony of Liberia, to which place I went as master of the Schooner Margaret Mercer, and where I remained thirteen days, during which time I was daily on shore, and carefully observed the state of affairs, and inquired into the condition of the people, I venture to state some facts in regard to the circumstances and prospects of the Colony. On the 14th December I arrived, and on the 15th went on shore, and was received in the most polite and friendly manner by the Governor, Dr. Mechlin, who introduced me to the ministers and principal inhabitants. All the Colonists appeared to be in good health. All my expectations in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, were more than realized. There are about two hundred buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Montserado, not far from a mile and a quarter.—Most of these are good substantial houses and stores, (the first story of many of them being of stone,) and some of them handsome, spacious, painted, and with Venetian blinds. Nothing struck me as more remarkable than the great superiority, in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect, of the people over their colored brethren in America. So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people, should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States. Among all that I conversed with, *I did not find a discontented person*, or hear one express a desire to return to America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being a Minister of the Gospel, on Christmas day I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist Church, to full and attentive congregations of from three to four hundred persons in each. I know of no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected

than in Monrovia. I was glad to see that the Colonial Agent or Governor is a constant attendant on Divine service, and appears desirous of promoting the moral and religious welfare of the people. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property; and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and their children in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world. Could the free people of color in this country but see the real condition of their brethren who have settled in Africa, I am persuaded they would require no other motive to induce them to emigrate. This is my decided and deliberate judgment.

Very respectfully, sir, your friend and servant,

WILLIAM ABELS.

P S. I have several times dined with the Colonists, and I think no better tables could be set in any part of the world. We had every thing that heart could desire, of meats, and fish, and fowls, and vegetables, and wines, &c. &c.

(B.)

Office of the American Colonization Society,

WASHINGTON, MAY 18, 1826.

At a special meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, the digest of the laws and the plan of civil government for Liberia, as adopted by the agents of this Society, having been read and considered, it was, on motion,

Resolved, That the Board of Managers, considering the satisfactory information afforded by recent accounts from the Colony, of the successful operation of the plan of the civil government thereof, as established by their Agents in August last, and seeing therein reason to re-consider their instructions to the Agent of the 29th of December, 1824, now approve of the principles in that form of government, and give their sanction to the same.

Resolved, That the digest of the laws be referred to a Committee to examine the same, and compare them with the Constitution and laws of 1820, and report to the next stated meeting.

WASHINGTON, MAY 23, 1825.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers, this day, the Committee appointed at the last meeting, presented the following resolutions, which were adopted:—

Resolved, That the Board, having considered the digest of the laws now in force in the Colony of Liberia, dated August 19, 1824, as prepared by the Agent, do approve the same, and declare the same to be, under the Constitution, the law of the Colony, adding thereto the following: In case of failure to find recognizance for good behaviour, when required, the person so failing shall be subjected to such labor on the public works, or other penalty as the Agent shall prescribe, until he shall find recogni-

zance, or the object for which it was required of him shall have been answered.

In all cases of banishment, where the banished person has no heir in the Colony, the land held by him shall revert to the Colony.

Resolved, That this declaration of the law of the Colony, shall not be construed to annul or impair any regulations which the Agent, under his constitutional authority, may have seen fit to establish subsequent to the above date of August 19, 1824.

Resolved, That the Resident Agent cause to be printed two thousand copies of the Constitution, government, and laws, of the Colony of Liberia, as established by this Board at Washington, 23d May, 1825.

JAMES LAURIE, *Acting President*.

R. R. GURLEY, *Resident Agent*.

CONSTITUTION

For the government of the African Colony at Liberia.

ARTICLE I. All persons born within the limits of the Territory held by the American Colonization Society, in Liberia, in Africa, or removing there to reside, shall be free, and entitled to all such rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE II. The Colonization Society shall, from time to time, make such rules as they may think fit for the government of the settlement, until they shall withdraw their Agents and leave the settlers to the government of themselves.

ARTICLE III. The Society's Agents shall compose a Board, to determine all questions relative to the government of the settlement, shall decide all disputes between individuals, and shall exercise all judicial powers, except such as they shall delegate to Justices of the Peace.

ARTICLE IV. The Agents shall appoint all officers not appointed by the Managers, necessary for the good order and government for the settlement.

ARTICLE V. There shall be no slavery in the settlement.

ARTICLE VI. The common law, as in force and modified in the United States, and applicable to the situation of the People, shall be in force in the settlement.

ARTICLE VII. Every settler coming to the age of twenty-one years, and those now of age, shall take an oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution.

ARTICLE VIII. In cases of necessity, where no rule has been made by the Board of Managers, the Agents are authorized to make the necessary rules and regulations, of which they shall, by the first opportunity, in-

form the Board or their approbation; and they shall continue in force, until the Board shall send out their decision upon them.

ARTICLE IX. This constitution is not to interfere with the jurisdiction, rights, and claims, of the Agents of the United States, over the captured Africans and others, under their care and control, so long as they shall reside within the limits of the settlement.

ARTICLE X. No alteration shall be made in this Constitution, except by an unanimous consent of all present, at a regular meeting of the Board of Managers, or by a vote of two-thirds of the members present at two successive meetings of the Board of Managers.

The Board received from the Colonial Agent, Mr. Ashmun, early in last year, a plan of Government, exhibiting several deviations from the form sketched in 1824, but in its principles the same. These deviations Mr. Ashmun remarks, "have grown gradually out of the altered and improving state of the Colony, and are neither the offspring of a rash spirit of experiment, nor have they been made without evident necessity." At a meeting of the Board of Managers, October 22d, 1828, it was determined to consider the revised Constitution or form of Government, submitted by Mr. Ashmun, and after due deliberation, it was

Resolved, That the Constitution as modified by the Colonial Agent, Mr. Ashmun, and as now in operation, be hereby adopted.

PLAN OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT FOR THE COLONY OF LIBERIA.

The necessity of a mild, just, and efficient civil Government, for the preservation of individual and political rights among any people, and the advancement of true prosperity, induces the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society to adopt, after mature consideration, the following system of Government, for the proper regulation of public affairs in the Colony of Liberia.

ARTICLE I. The Agent of the American Colonization Society, resident in the Colony, possesses within the same, sovereign power, subject only to the Constitution, the chartered rights of the citizens, and the decisions of the Board.

ARTICLE II. All male colored people, who have subscribed the oath to support the Constitution, and drawn, and not forfeited lands in the Colony, shall be entitled to vote for, and be eligible to the civil offices of the Colony.

ARTICLE III. The Civil Officers of the Colony shall be appointed annually: and the polls for the general annual election of the Colony, shall be opened on the last Tuesday in August, and continue open not more than three, nor less than two successive days, in the different Settlements. Elections shall be organized by the Sheriff, by the appointment in each Settlement, of a President, two Judges, and two Clerks.

ARTICLE IV. The Colonial Officers eligible by the annual suffrage of the freeholders, in which the Agent has the right to interpose his negative, assigning to the voters in time to renew the choice at the same election, his reason for such interposition, are *for the Colony*, a Vice-Agent, two Counsellors, a High Sheriff, a Register, and a Treasurer: and for each of the settlements consisting of not less than sixty families, two Commissioners of Agriculture, two Commissioners to form a Board of Health, and two Censors.

ARTICLE V. The Vice-Agent shall be admitted to the council of the Agent in all important matters; and shall express an opinion on all questions submitted to his consideration. He shall aid the Agent in the discharge of his various duties, and in the support and execution of the laws; and in the event of the Agent's absence, or sickness, the Vice-Agent shall become the General Superintendent of Public Affairs.

ARTICLE VI. The Vice-Agent with two Counsellors, shall constitute a council; who shall meet when questioned by the Agent, to deliberate on the interests of the Colony, and the measures to be taken for their security and advancement.

The Vice-Agent shall also advise with the other members of the Council, on any subjects connected with the general welfare, as often as he shall think it proper; and report the result to the Agent if proper, or act upon the same, in case of his absence.

ARTICLE VII. The duty of the Counsellors shall be, to aid the Agent, or Vice-Agent, with their advice and counsel, on subjects relating to the general welfare of the Colony, whenever thereto requested by either.

ARTICLE VIII. The High Sheriff shall, either by himself or his deputies, aid in the organization of elections; act as Marshal for the Government of the Colony, execute all processes, judgments, and commands of the Court of Sessions, and perform, generally, the services required of the same Officer, by the common laws of England and the United States.

ARTICLE IX. The Secretary of the Colony shall take charge of, and carefully keep all the papers, records, and archives of the Colony, generally; shall attend and exactly record the doings of the Agent in Council; shall publish all the ordinances, and legal enactments of the Government; publish Government notices; issue the Agent's orders, civil, military, and judicial, to the proper functionaries; deliver a fair copy of Government papers necessary to be recorded to the Register of the Colony; and manage its internal correspondence on the part, and under the directions of the Agent.

ARTICLE X. The Register shall record all documents and instruments relating to the security, and title of public or individual property; Government grants; patents; licences; contracts and commissions; and all other papers which are properly a matter of record, and to which the Government of the Colony shall be a party.

Every volume of records when completed, shall be delivered by the Register, to the Secretary of the Colony, for preservation, among the archives of the Colony.

ARTICLE XI. The Treasurer of the Colony shall receive and safely keep all the monies, and public securities required by law, or the judgment of courts, to be deposited in the public Treasury, and shall deliver up, and pay over the same, only by a requisition signed by the Agent, or Vice-Agent of the Colony; to whom he shall render a statement of the public finances on the Monday preceding the annual election of the Colony.

ARTICLE XII. The Commissioners of Agriculture shall report, and serve as the organ of the Government, on all subjects relating to the Agriculture of the Colony.

The Commissioners composing the Board of Health, shall report, and serve as the organ of the Government, on all subjects relating to the health of the Colony; shall ascertain the proper objects of medical attention; report nuisances prejudicial to the public health, direct their removal; and make themselves generally active in diminishing the sufferings and dangers of the settlers caused by sickness.

Each of these Committees shall record, for the future use of the Colony all important observations and facts relating to the subjects of their charge.

ARTICLE XIII. The two Censors shall act as conservators of the public morals, and promoters of the public industry; and be obliged to all the duties, and invested with all the legal powers, on whatever relates to the public morals and industry, which are lawfully required of, and possessed by grand jurors, in such parts of the United States as recognize such auxiliaries to their magistracy.

It shall be the special duty of these officers to ascertain in what way every person, in their proper districts, acquires a livelihood; to report or present idlers; detect vicious or suspected practices; and present for legal investigation and cure, every actual or probable evil, growing out of the immoralities, either of a portion of the community, or of individuals.

ARTICLE XIV. The Judiciary of the Colony shall consist of the Agent and a competent number of Justices of the peace, created by his appointment. The Justices shall have cognizance of all cases affecting the peace, and of all criminal cases within the definition of *petit larceny*, and all actions of debt not exceeding twenty dollars. In the court of Monthly Sessions, whether acting as a court of law, or a court of equity, the Agent or Vice-Agent shall preside, and the Justices be his associates.

The court of Monthly Sessions shall have original Jurisdiction in all actions of debt, in which the amount in litigation shall exceed twenty dollars: and in criminal causes above the degree of *petit larceny*; and shall have appellate jurisdiction in all civil causes whatsoever.

The requisite number of Constables for the Colony shall be appointed by the Agent annually.

A Clerk and a Crier of the Court of Sessions shall also be appointed by the said Court, annually.

An Auctioneer, who shall conduct all auction sales except those of the Sheriff and Constables, in pursuance of the judgment of the Courts of the Colony, shall also be created by annual appointment of the Agent.

A Store Keeper, Librarian, Commissary of Ordnance, to be appointed by the Agent, shall be respected and obeyed in matters belonging to their respective functions, as officers of the Colony.

Instructors in all public schools having the sanction of a public charter, or participating in any degree in the public funds, shall be appointed and employed by the regular school committees of the Colony, but with the Agent's approbation and concurrence.

All Custom, Port, Infirmary, Medical, Guard and Police officers, not appointed by the Managers of the Colonization Society, and whose services are required and defined by the laws of the Colony, together with the public Measurers, Inspectors, and Appraisers, shall be appointed by the Agent of the Colony.

ARTICLE XV. The Militia of the Colony, shall consist wholly of such uniformed Volunteer Corps as shall obtain charters under the Government of the Colony; of which charters, the following shall be fundamental articles:

1st. That the Corps shall always comply with any requisitions for their services, either wholly or in part, made by the executive Government of the Colony.

2nd. That the Corps shall ever preserve and hold themselves and their arms and equipments in a state of readiness for actual service, at the shortest notice.

3rd. That the Officers be commissioned by the Agent; and

4thly. That they shall muster, parade, and serve in the line of the Colony, under general Officers, when thereto required by the executive Government.

General officers shall be appointed by the Agent; and when especial reasons do not forbid, shall be taken from the Officers of the several Corps, and promoted according to rank, and the seniority of their commissions.

All Military Officers and delinquencies, shall be tried by a General Court Martial, to be composed, except the officers and Guards of the Court, of Commissioned Officers; and to sit quarterly.

A correct copy.

J. ASHMUN.

[For a digest of the Laws of the Colony, see the Appendix of the Twelfth Report, page 38.]

(C.)

Extracts from a Pamphlet, entitled "Reflections on the causes which led to the formation of the Colonization Society, with their probable results." By MATTHEW CAREY, Esq.

Increase of the coloured population.

South Carolina is the State which is more particularly interested in the success of the Colonization Society than any other State in the Union, except perhaps Louisiana—as these are the only two States in which the slave population exceeds the whites—and the increase of the former has been in a considerably greater ratio than that of the whites.

In 1790, the number of slaves in South Carolina was	-	131,181
the slaves,	-	107,094
In 1830, the whites,	-	257,878
the slaves,	-	315,565

Thus it appears that while the slaves nearly trebled their numbers in forty years, the whites were only doubled.

The relative situation of the whites and the blacks, East of the Blue Ridge, in Virginia, in 1790 and 1830, as stated in a memorial lately presented to the legislature of that State, places the subject in a striking point of view. By this statement, it appears that the blacks have in forty years gained on the whites not less than 106,176, being more than a fourth of the present number of whites in that section of country! To render this result still more appalling, it is to be observed, that, during this period, the shipment of slaves, from that portion of Virginia, to the more southern States, had been carried to an enormous extent.

By the census of 1790, there were whites—

East of the Blue Ridge,	-	314,523
There were of blacks,	-	289,425
Majority of whites,	-	25,098
In 1800, there were blacks,	-	339,393
there were whites,	-	336,289
Majority of blacks,	-	3,104
In 1810, there were blacks,	-	386,942
there were whites,	-	338,553
Majority of blacks,	-	48,389
In 1820, there were blacks,	-	413,928
there were whites,	-	348,873
Majority of blacks,	-	65,055
In 1830, there were blacks,	-	457,013
there were whites,	-	375,935
Majority of blacks,	-	81,078

The following table exhibits the increase of the free coloured people in the United States, from the year 1790 to the present time:

In 1790,	50,481	-	-	-	-	In 1820,	233,530
1800,	110,073	-	-	-	-	1830,	319,467
1810,	188,465						

The number of slaves,

In 1790,	697,697	-	-	-	-	In 1830,	2,010,527
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Being a multiplication almost three-fold.

The disparity of increase of the white and colored population, in the five original slave States, deserves attention.

	1790.		1830.	
	Whites.	Slaves.	Whites.	Slaves.
Maryland,	295,649	103,036	291,093	102,578
Virginia,	442,117	292,627	694,327	469,724
North Carolina,	233,204	100,572	474,433	246,462
South Carolina,	130,181	107,091	257,878	315,665
Georgia,	52,936	29,264	296,614	217,470
	1,122,137	633,590	2,012,457	1,352,199

It thus appears, that the whites, in 40 years, increased but about seventy-nine per cent.; while the slaves increased one hundred and twelve. In North Carolina, the whites increased but sixty-four per cent.; while the slaves increased one hundred and forty-five. The number of slaves in Maryland has decreased, partly by manumissions, and partly by the shipment of slaves to the more Southern States, both of which have taken place in that State on a large scale. The free coloured population of that State, in 1790, was only 8,042, whereas, in 1830, it was 52,942. It is important to ascertain the increase of the coloured population, generally.

The total number of coloured people, free and slaves, in the United States

In 1790 was	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	757,173
1800	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,006,921
1810	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,377,780
1820	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,771,658
1830	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,330,039

It is well worth serious consideration, what will probably be the extent of this population, in forty years, at the same ratio of increase as took place in the last ten years.

In 1840	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,045,504
1850	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,111,430
1860	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,549,435
1870	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,491,737

This is no fanciful calculation, the sport of a lively imagination. It is grounded on the actual ratio of increase that took place from the census of 1820 to that of 1830, viz: 35 per cent.

It is impossible to contemplate the subject in this point of view, without the most serious alarm, and a thorough conviction that it is of paramount importance, and that there is an imperious necessity of making an effort to apply a remedy to the dangers with which it is pregnant.

Various statements have been given of the expense of the passage of emigrants to Liberia—16, 20, and 26 dollars—12 or 13 dollars for their maintenance at Monrovia for a year—children from 10 to 12 years of age are taken at half price—and below two years, free of charge. There has hitherto been considerable disadvantage from the size of many of the vessels, and the small number of emigrants that went in some of them. It is believed, if the business were carried on, upon a scale commensurate with its importance, and in vessels of an improved construction, that the passage might be reduced to 15 dollars; and that the expense of maintaining emigrants at Liberia will be greatly reduced by the demand for labour in the Colony, by which those who are able to work, may procure employment at once, and thus support themselves. I have recently seen a statement by which it appears that of the whole number of emigrants who arrived in one vessel, only seven were unemployed in ten or twelve days. Moreover, as the benefits of the plan to the

emigrants become more generally known, it is fairly presumable that numbers of the coloured people, who have means, will emigrate at their own expense; and that many benevolent citizens will, as has already been done in various instances, defray the passage of their slaves. All these circumstances will tend to diminish the public burdens. Taking these considerations into view, it cannot be denied, that, to average the whole, young and old, at 25 dollars, cannot be far from the truth.

The increase is about 3 1-2 per cent. per annum. On the present population it is equal to about 75 or 80,000, annually. If it were intended to keep this population to its present standard, it would require \$2,000,000 annually. But we will confine ourselves to an emigration of 50,000, which would require \$1,200,000; or even 25,000, which would require about \$600,000. Any of these emigrations would greatly mitigate the public danger. The sums are large, and would require considerable sacrifices. But was any great object ever attained without great sacrifices? We were able, in a comparatively feeble state, to raise \$100,000,000 in a year and a half, for the support of a war, and our revenue has for years been from 23 to 27,000,000 of dollars. The direct tax of the State of Pennsylvania in the year 1815 was \$730,958, and of Virginia \$738,036, which was paid without any oppression of the citizens of either. And surely with an overflowing treasury, if reason and common sense have fair play, it would not be very difficult to procure an amendment of the constitution, if such an amendment be necessary, which is much doubted by many of our citizens, authorising the appropriation of a sum necessary for this purpose, to be ratified, according to the terms of the constitution, by three-fourths of the States. And never did a nation appropriate money for a more valuable purpose.

There are twelve non-slave-holding States. There can be no doubt that these would ratify such an amendment; and from the prevalence of the conviction in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, of the dangers that menace the country from this source, their immediate concurrence might be calculated on, and the consent of one more would probably be had in a year or two, as the subject came to be more fully discussed, and of consequence better understood.

Manumissions.

Among the most promising and encouraging circumstances attending the career of this Society, are the numerous manumissions that have taken place in almost all the slave States, with the express condition of the freed men being sent to Liberia.

These manumissions have occurred on a scale that the most sanguine friends of the scheme could not have anticipated. Entire families have been blest with their freedom, from the most pure motives, a conviction of the injustice and immorality of slavery—and in many cases, ample provision has been made for the expense of their passage, and in some for their support in Liberia. They have been thus released from the debasement and degradation of slavery, and sent to the land of their fathers, to partake of all the happiness that freedom and the certainty of enjoying all the fruits of their labour, can inspire.

It would be endless to enumerate the cases of this kind that have occurred.—Some of them must be recorded, that the acts, and the names of the parties, where known, may have the applause to which they are entitled, and, what is of more consequence, that they may serve as stimuli to others to follow the noble example.

A lady near Charlestown, Va. liberated all her slaves, ten in number, to be sent to Liberia, and moreover purchased two whose families were among her slaves. For the one she gave \$450, and for the other \$350.

The late Wm. H. Fitzhugh bequeathed their freedom to all his slaves, after a certain fixed period, and ordered that their expenses should be paid to whatsoever place they should think proper to go. And, "as an encouragement to them to emigrate to the American Colony on the coast of Africa, where," adds the will, "I believe their happiness will be more permanently secured, I desire not only that the expenses of their emigration be paid, but that the sum of fifty dollars shall be paid to each one so emigrating on his or her arrival in Africa."

David Shriver, of Frederick co. Maryland, ordered by his will, that all his slaves, thirty in number, should be emancipated, and that proper provision should be made for the comfortable support of the infirm and aged, and for the instruction of the young in reading, writing and arithmetic, and in some art or trade by which they might acquire the means of support.

Col. Smith, an old revolutionary officer, of Sussex co. Va. ordered in his will, that all his slaves, seventy or eighty in number, should be emancipated, and bequeathed upwards of \$5000 to defray the expense of transporting them to Liberia.

Patsey Morris, of Louisa co. Va. directed by will, that all her slaves, sixteen in number, should be emancipated, and left \$500 to fit them out, and defray the expenses of their passage.

The schooner Randolph, which sailed from Georgetown, S. C. had on board 26 slaves liberated by a benevolent individual near Cheraw.

Of 105 emigrants who sailed in the brig Doris from Baltimore and Norfolk, 62 were emancipated on condition of being conveyed to Liberia.

Sampson David, late a member of the Legislature of Tennessee, provided by will that all his slaves, 22 in number, who are mostly young, should be liberated in 1840, or sooner, at his wife's decease, if she died before that period.

Herbert B. Elder, of Petersburg, Va. bequeathed their freedom to all his slaves, twenty in number, with directions that they should be conveyed to Liberia, by the first opportunity.

A gentleman (the late Dr. Bradley) in Georgia has recently left 49 slaves free on condition of their removal to Liberia.

In this, I had almost said Divine work of benevolence, the Society of Friends, as in many other cases, have nobly distinguished themselves, and assumed a prominent attitude. They have, in North Carolina, liberated no less than 652 slaves, whom they had under their care, besides, as says my authority, an unknown number of children, husbands and wives, that were connected with them by consanguinity. In the performance of these acts of benevolence, they expended \$12,769.—They had remaining under their care, in Dec. 1830, 402 slaves, for whom the same arrangements were to be made.—*African Repository*, Dec. 1830, page 319.

It holds out every encouragement to the Colonization Society, that the applications for the transportation of free negroes and slaves proposed to be emancipated on condition of removal to Liberia, far exceed its means. There are in North Carolina and the adjacent States, from three to four thousand of both descriptions, ready to embark, were the Society in a situation to send them away.

[In addition to these instances mentioned by Mr. Carey, several others might be added, particularly that of Richard Bibb, Esq. of Kentucky, who proposes to send sixty slaves to Liberia—two

gentlemen in Missouri, who desire to send eleven slaves—a lady in Kentucky offers 40—the Rev. John C. Burress, of Alabama, who intends preparing all his slaves for colonization—the Rev. William L. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, manumitted 11 slaves, which sailed a few weeks ago from New Orleans—the Rev. Wm. Jones, and Dr. Stephen Jones, of Kentucky, have also tendered to the Society, all their slaves, amounting to 38 in number—and besides these, the Society has received information that many others are looking to Liberia as the ultimate asylum of those slaves whose interests are dear to them, and for whose benefit they are willing to make almost any pecuniary sacrifice.]

The declarations of Legislatures and other assembled bodies in favour of the Colonization Scheme.

The Colonization Society has, by perseverance and by the intrinsic merit of its views, at length “won golden opinions” from the greater part of the nation. The Legislatures of thirteen States, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana, have passed resolutions approving of the object of the Society, and recommending the system of foreign colonization. Eleven of those States have instructed their Senators, and requested their Representatives in Congress to promote, in the general government, measures for removing such free persons of colour as are desirous of emigrating to Africa. And nearly all the ecclesiastical bodies in the United States have, by resolutions, firmly expressed their opinion, that the Society merits the consideration and favour of the whole christian community, and earnestly recommended it to their patronage.

Commerce and Productions.

The commerce of Liberia, as yet in its infancy, is respectable, and increasing annually. The exports are rice, palm oil, ivory, tortoise shell, dye wood, gold, hides, wax and coffee. Coffee and cotton grow spontaneously. Indigo and the sugar cane succeed, and will be cultivated to advantage. Camwood is abundant, and mahogany grows at the Cape. The timber of Liberia is various and durable, and well adapted to building. The imports consist of an assortment of the productions of Europe, the West Indies, and America. The port of Monrovia is seldom clear of European and American vessels, loading or unloading.

A trading company has been formed at Monrovia, with a capital of \$1000; and an agreement entered into, that no dividend shall be made until the profits increase the capital to \$20,000. The stock has risen from 50 to 75 on transfer shares.

A colonist, of the name of Waring, had sold goods to the amount of \$70,000, in the year 1830. The sales of Mr. Devany, the sheriff, amounted to between 24 and \$25,000, in 1830; and his property was worth about \$20,000, made during the seven years in which he has resided in Monrovia.

The commerce of the Colony during the last year, has greatly exceeded that of any former year. Within that period 46 vessels visited the port, of which 21

were Americans, and a majority of the remainder English. The exports amounted to nearly 90,000 dollars, and the merchandise and produce on hand, amounted to about 23,000 dollars.

Africa before the Irruption of the Barbarians.

Those who argue, from the present state of the colored population of this country, against the prospect of a high degree of civilization in Africa, reason from very imperfect data. Here the colored people have labored, and still labor, under almost every possible disadvantage. In most of the southern states, slaves are debarred from the attainment of the slightest rudiments of knowledge. And even in states free from slavery, the colored people have little opportunity of cultivation. Condemned by poverty, almost universally, to the lowest occupations, they have neither time nor means to improve themselves. But they will not suffer much, on a fair comparison with whites of the same grade. The best criterion, however, by which to judge, is the progress they have made in Liberia, where they escape the degradation to which they are exposed here. Of their improvement in morals, and manners, and habits, the testimony of Captains Sherman and Nicholson, from which I have made slight quotations in the preceding pages, precludes all doubt. It may be confidently stated, that few of the American colonies made greater advances in the same space of time than they have done in the seven years that have elapsed since the establishment of order and good government in 1824.—The distance between the Colonists at Liberia and the civilized inhabitants of Europe at present, is not so great as between the former and some parts of Europe in olden time, when the latter painted their bodies, had no chimneys to their houses, lay upon straw on the ground, covered themselves with skins fastened with skewers, and were tenants in common with the pigs which partook of the hospitality of their houses.

Africa, though brutalized by wars, the invasions of barbarians, and the most grinding despotism, was once on as proud an eminence in point of civilization, as any part of Europe. Carthage contended for the supremacy with Rome for one hundred and twenty years—and, but for domestic factions, the bane of republics, would probably have subjugated Italy. The destruction of the Carthaginian annals by the Romans renders it impossible to enumerate any of her great men, except her warriors. Rome never produced a greater general than Hannibal. Some of his relations were men of great talents in the same department. Jugurtha was superior to most of the Romans who were sent against him. Terence, the dramatist, was an African.

Christianity and civilization were early introduced into Africa. There were several provincial councils held there. At one of them, held in Carthage, in 397, the canon of the Roman Catholic Bible was settled. Another was held in the same place in 410—and two others at Milevi. In the fifth century, the number of Catholic Bishops in Africa was four hundred. Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine, among the great lights of Christianity in their day, were Africans. And it is not too much to expect that future Hannibals and Terences and Cyprians and Augustines will arise to defend and illuminate that now benighted country.—Should such a result take place, the merit will belong to the illustrious founders of the American Colonization Society.

Effects of the Colonization Scheme on the Slave Trade, with a slight Sketch of that nefarious Traffic.

Among the striking advantages attending the Colony at Liberia, is the check it has given to the slave trade already, and the probable suppression, ultimately, of that nefarious traffic on a large portion of the western coast of Africa by the gradual extension of the settlements. Before the establishment of the settlements at Liberia, there were several slave factories within a few miles of the place, all of which have been completely broken up. Four or five years back, there was not a single factory from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount, a distance of 100 miles; and 120 miles, from Cape Mount to Trade Town, the whole of the coast of Liberia.—More recently, a factory has been established at Cape Mount, forty-five miles from Monrovia, where the trade is carried on briskly. But it is probable, as soon as the Colony gains more strength, this nest of kidnappers and traders in human flesh and human suffering, will be extirpated.

The African chiefs, in the neighbourhood of Liberia, have generally voluntarily abandoned the traffic, finding they can supply themselves with what articles they want, of European and West India goods, by the sale of their own domestic productions. Some of them have put themselves under the protection of the Colony. To duly appreciate the advantages of this result, it is only necessary to reflect for a moment on the horrors of this nefarious traffic; and although it has been presented times without number, to the execration of mankind, I may be permitted to take a bird's eye view of it. The number of slaves kidnapped in 1824, was 120,000. And the number imported into the single port of Rio for nine years, 1820—8, has been 264,964.

In 1820,	15,020	-	-	-	-	-	In 1825,	26,254
1821,	24,134	-	-	-	-	-	1826,	33,999
1822,	27,363	-	-	-	-	-	1827,	29,787
1823,	20,349	-	-	-	-	-	1828,	48,555
1824,	39,503	-	-	-	-	-		
								264,964

[Walsh's notices of Brazil, vol. 1. p. 178.]

It has been ascertained, beyond the possibility of doubt, notwithstanding the efforts of the chief maritime powers of Europe, and those of the United States, to suppress this traffic, that from the two towns, Muney and Pangas, there have been 352 cargoes of slaves taken, in little more than a year.

It has been estimated that one-third, but say one-fifth, perish in the voyage; and that an equal number die after their landing, of diseases contracted on the voyage, or of grief for their forlorn situation. This would make an aggregate of above 300,000, doomed to destruction, or interminable slavery, for one single port!

To heighten the enormity of this "sin crying to heaven for vengeance," it is ascertained that in cases of shortness of provision, the slaves are often remorselessly thrown overboard. On board a vessel, some time since, thirty nine negroes became blind, and twelve had lost an eye. They were thrown into the fathomless ocean. A single vessel, the Protector, took on board at Mozambique, 807 slaves, of whom 339 died on the voyage.

The Maria Primera, a Portuguese ship, took on board upwards of 500 slaves. This number was reduced to 403, in consequence of extreme crowding, before she was captured, and brought into Sierra Leone. Nearly one hundred more died soon after, from diseases contracted on board.—*Transactions of London Af. Ass'n.*

The following heart-rending picture of the slave trade has been drawn by Sir

George O'Meara, who was employed on the coast of Africa, to suppress it. "Such is the merciless treatment of the slaves, that no fancy can picture the horrors of the voyage. Crowded together so as not to have the power to move—linked one to the other by the leg—never unfettered while life remains, or till the iron shall have fretted the flesh almost to the bone—forced under a deck, as I have seen them, *not thirty inches in height*—breathing an atmosphere the most putrid and pestilential possible—with little food and less water—subject to the most severe punishment, at the caprice or fancy of the brute who may command the vessel—it is to me a matter of surprise that any of these miserable wretches live the voyage through. Many of them, indeed, perish on the passage, and those of them who remain to reach the shore, present a picture of wretchedness language cannot express."

(D.)

MOVEMENTS IN VIRGINIA.

The people of Virginia are awaking to the solemn consideration of the whole subject of the evil of their coloured population, and have expressed their purpose, through the General Assembly, to aid in the colonization of such as are now free, and of such as may become so, either by the will of individuals, or the laws of the State. The late debate in the Virginia Legislature, embracing the entire subject of slavery, has been one of the highest interest and importance. The Editor of one of the Richmond papers observes: "We have never heard any debate so eloquent, so sustained, and in which so great a number of speakers had appeared, and commanded the attention of so numerous and intelligent an audience. The debate is in the process of publication, and the world can partly, though not fully judge of its merits. It has been suggested to us, that it would be expedient to incorporate this debate, so important in its subject, so full in its information, so comprehensive in its views, and so momentous in its consequences, in a less perishable form than a newspaper, and we accede to the propriety of the suggestion."

In another place the Editor of the Whig remarks: "The debate on abolition continues with increased and increasing interest. Virginia has never had greater reason to boast of her gifted sons. The debate has indeed been one of transcendent and the most sustained power and interest. Day after day, multitudes throng to the Capitol, and have been compensated by eloquence which would have illustrated Rome or Athens.

Since the close of this debate, Mr. Broadnax, from the Select Committee on slaves and free negroes, reported a Bill "devising the ways and means for deporting free negroes and such as may become free, to Liberia. The Bill as modified and amended, proposes an appropriation of \$35,000 for the present year, and \$90,000 for the next, to be expended in colonizing the free people of colour, and it has passed the House of Delegates. The Governor, Executive Council and the Treasurer, are constituted a Central Board to superintend the execution of this act, with power to appoint other Boards.

Jan. 30th.—The following Resolution, reported from the Select Committee on coloured population in the House of Delegates of Virginia, was read and concurred in.

Resolved, That it is expedient to apply to the General Government to procure a territory or territories, beyond the limits of the United States, to which the several States may remove their free coloured population.

On the 30th of February, Mr. Moore submitted the following joint Resolution, which was, on his motion, laid on the table.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Delegates, That the Governor of this Commonwealth be, and he is hereby requested to apply to the General Government on behalf of this General Assembly, to procure a territory or territories, beyond the limits of the United States, to which the several States may remove the whole or any part of their coloured population; and, that the Senators of this State in Congress, be requested to use their best efforts to promote that object.

We are informed that the subject of colonizing the free people of colour is under consideration in the *Legislature* of MARYLAND, and that a liberal appropriation will probably be made during its present session for this object.

In CONGRESS, we are happy to state that the following Resolution, offered by Mr. Jenifer, of Maryland, with the amendments proposed by Mr. Thompson, of Ohio, and Mr. Archer, of Virginia, and a Memorial from an Auxiliary Colonization Society, presented by Mr. Conduct, of New Jersey, have been referred to a Select Committee.

Resolved, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of making an appropriation for the purpose of removing from the United States and her Territories, the free people of colour, and colonizing them on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere.

(E.)

The noble plan of Mr. Gerrit Smith, of New York, to raise \$100,000 for this Society, in the course of ten years, by subscriptions of \$1000, (each subscriber to pay \$100 annually for ten years) has made some progress during the year. We would by no means despair of its accomplishment, though we regret extremely, that our wealthy friends come forward so slowly to give it their patronage. We entreat them to consider the magnitude of the object, and to lend their aid to its full accomplishment.

Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, New York.

Jasper Corning, Charleston, South Carolina.

Theodore Frelinghuysen, Newark, New Jersey.

John T. Norton, Albany, New York.

E. F. Backus, New Haven, Connecticut.

A Gentleman in Mississippi.

Matthew Carey, Philadelphia.

William Crane, Richmond, Virginia.

Fleming James, ditto.

A Friend in Virginia.

Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, Dedham, Mass.

Mrs. M. H. Carrington, Mrs. Ann Fontaine, } \$100 annually by

Wm. A. Carrington, P. S. Carrington, } equal contributions.

Gen. Edward Carrington, and Walter C. Carrington

A few Gentlemen near Oak Hill, Fauquier County, Va.

Robert Ralston, Philadelphia.

Elliot Cresson, ditto.

Robert Gilmer, Baltimore.

George Burwell, Frederick county, Va.

Association of 20 persons in Rev. Dr. Mead's parish, Frederick co. Va.

Hon. Edward McGehee, Mississippi.

Rev. Dr. James P. Thomas, Louisiana.

Four young Gentlemen in Alexandria, D. C.

The Auxiliary Colonization Society of Georgetown, D. C.

A Friend in Fredericktown, Md.

Another Subscription on the plan of Gerrit Smith, in Bishop Mead's

Congregation, Frederick county, Va.

John Gray, Fredericksburg, Va.

Solomon Allen, Philadelphia, Pa.

Cortland Van Rensselaer, Albany N. Y.

Female Colonization Society of Georgetown, D. C.

General John Hartwell Cocke, of Virginia

Thomas Buffington, Guyandott, Va.

Judge Burnett, of Ohio.

Nicholas Brown, Providence, R. I.

An association of Gentlemen in Kenhawa co. Va

Jacob Towson, of Williamsport, Md.

E. C. Delavan, Albany, New York.

Thomas C. Upham, Brunswick, Maine.

Thomas Emmerson, Windsor, Vermont.

Judge Porter, of New Orleans.

Judge Workman, ditto

John McDonogh, ditto

(E.)

FOURTH OF JULY.

We earnestly invite the attention of the Clergy, of every denomination in the country, to the plan of taking up collections for the Society, on, or about the Fourth of July. *Immense, incalculable good would result from this measure, could it become universal.* All the people of the United States, would be made acquainted with the principles, and proceedings of the Society. Every where throughout the land would interest be excited, and aid secured to effect the design of African Colonization. If we could speak with a tone which every minister of Christ might hear, we would entreat him, as he values his country, or his race; the cause of humanity, or the cause of God, to *preach on the subject of the Colonization Society, on, or about the Fourth of July next, and invite public charity to its object.*

(F.)

LIBERALITY OF ENGLISH FRIENDS.

Allusion has been made in the Report to the efforts of Elliott Cresson, the indefatigable Agent of the Society in England. We are gratified to learn that many English Journals are now giving efficient support to the cause of the Society, and that several liberal donations have been made to its funds. Mr. Cresson is entitled to the thanks of all the friends of Africa, for his zealous and gratuitous services; and the generosity of those in England, who contribute to aid the cause of this Institution, admirably illustrates the nobleness of the spirit of genuine philanthropy.

Richard Dykes Alexander, a name ever prominent in deeds of practical philanthropy, "convinced that a more rapid progress was never known in any colony towards comfort and respectability than that of Liberia," published an appeal in its behalf; in consequence of which, the following sums were sent to Barnetts, Hoare, and Co. 62, Lombard-street, who continue to act as Bankers to the fund—viz:

	£.	s.	d.
Robert Barclay (Bury Hill)	100	0	0
A Female Friend (per S. T. of York), who is only rich by the fewness of her own wants, and the cheerfulness with which she ministers to those of others.....	100	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
A Female Friend	100	0	0
London Female Anti-Slavery Society.....	50	0	0
A Friend (in Warwickshire).....	50	0	0
Collected by Mary I. Lecky (Kilnock, Ireland)	51	0	0
Hannah Murray (York).....	25	0	0
Nathan Dunn.....	25	0	0
Collected by Wm. Smith (Doncaster).....	20	5	0
Luke Howard and Family.....	20	0	0
A Friend, per ditto.....	0	5	0
Sarah Fox and Family (Wellington).....	15	0	0
George Wyett Gibson (Saffron Walden).....	13	10	0
Jabez Gibson (ditto).....	13	10	0
Francis Gibson (ditto).....	13	10	0
Mary Gibson (ditto).....	13	10	0
Gerard Ralston	10	10	0
Judith N. Dillwyn.....	10	0	0
Joseph Gurney (Norwich).....	10	0	0
Joseph John Gurney (ditto)	10	0	0
Collected by John Fisher (Huddersfield)....	10	0	0
Col. Perronet Thompson	25	0	0
Robert Graham (Glasgow).....	9	15	0
Collected by K. Bell (Plaistow)	9	0	0
Benjamin Hawes, jun.....	7	10	0
Thomas Hodgkin, M. D.	7	10	0
Norwick Female Anti-Slavery Society.....	6	15	0
Thomas Catchpole (Colchester)	6	15	0
Lucy Maw (Neeham).....	6	10	0
Sarah Strangman (Ireland).....	6	5	0
Collected by A. Cowell (Walton)	6	0	0
Sarah Abbott	6	0	0
Cash per Leathams.....	6	0	0
Mary Wright (Bristol).....	2	0	0
Louisa Wright (ditto).....	2	0	0
Martha Jessup (Woodbridge).....	2	0	0
Widow's Mite (from Chelmsford)	1	6	0
Charlotte Smith ...	1	0	0
Mary Harford.....	1	0	0
John Gurney, K. C.....	15	0	0
Elizabeth Johnson.....	10	0	0
Miss Prince	10	0	0
Russell Scott	7	10	0
Jane Gurney	7	10	0
W. Evans, M. P.....	5	0	0
H. Bromfield	5	0	0
Mrs. Fletcher.....	5	0	0
Two Irish Female Friends.....	100	0	0
James Douglass, Esq. (of Cowes)	200	0	0

In addition to the above, it should be stated as a fact most honorable to the *Society of Friends* in London, that they have authorized their brethren in North Carolina to draw on them to the amount of \$2000, to aid in the colonization of the colored people under their care.

PRESERVATION OF HEALTH ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.

The following, is a copy of a letter from Joseph Reynolds, Esq. of Bristol, England, son of the philanthropic Richard Reynolds.

BRISTOL, 11 mo. 3, 1831.

Dear Friend: It gives me great pleasure to communicate the means adopted to preserve the health of the crew of the Cambridge, during the time she lay in the river above Sierra Leone, to take in timber—say for 90 days. The instructions given to the Commander, were derived from reading Dr. McCulloch's essay on Malaria; and the precautions taken were

I. On no account to suffer any of the crew to be out of the ship at sunset.

II. To have a sail stretched on the windward *side* of the vessel; and an awning was also provided, which extended over the poop and the whole of the main deck, to defend the crew from the night air.

III. The night watch was encouraged to smoke Tobacco.

IV. To distribute French Brandy to the crew whilst in port, in lieu of Rum. *

V. The hold of the vessel was kept constantly sweet, notwithstanding the effluvia from the putrid mud which adhered to the timber, by the constant use of the chloride of lime, with a solution of which the fore-castle, where the crew slept, was daily sprinkled.

The crew on rising, were served with a liberal allowance of strong coffee, before commencing their day's work.

The result was, that the ships on each side of the Cambridge, lost the greater part of their crews; not one man of the Cambridge was seriously unwell, during the whole time they lay in the River, and it was remarked that the ship was so clear of musquitoes, that the Captain threw aside the curtains which he had provided for his defence against them. The crew came into Milford in good health, not having felt any inconvenience from the bilgewater, and looking better than they did afterwards, at the conclusion of a voyage to Quebec for timber, where I understand it is customary for the men to drink an unreasonable quantity of spirits.

* We think coffee would be much better than either Rum or Brandy.—Ed.

So far as one trial justifies an opinion, it should seem that chloride of lime has a great effect in counteracting Malaria, much may also be attributed to the temperance which was insisted on by the master; and so far as its effects in removing the unpleasant taste and smell of putrid water, are important in hot climates, I had an opportunity this summer of witnessing them in the most satisfactory manner. The water from a deep well at my son-in-law's near Liverpool, is sometimes, without apparent cause, seemingly both in smell and taste, quite putrid—but both smell and taste were corrected by an exceedingly minute portion of the solution of chloride of lime not perceptible to the drinker.

If these hints should be found in any degree conducive to the health of vessels trading to Liberia, or to the residents of that settlement, I shall consider myself fortunate in having been, in even so small a degree, useful in promoting the progress of a scheme fraught with blessings to Africa and highly beneficial to a race of our fellow men, unjustly oppressed and degraded almost below the level of humanity, and then despised, because they suffered such degradation. I sincerely hope it will be as eminently successful, as our neighboring settlement has been otherwise; and am

Thy sincere Friend,

To ELLIOTT CRESSON.

JOSEPH REYNOLDS.

N. B. The Secretaries of Auxiliary Societies are particularly requested to transmit the list of officers to such Societies. Also, to invite their respective Societies to promote collections in the churches on or about the Fourth of July, and to prepare and send in memorials to Congress, soliciting the countenance of the Federal Government to the cause of this Society.

LIFE MEMBERS

*Of the Colonization Society, by the contribution of \$30, or upwards
at one time, to the funds of the Institution.*

MAINE.

Rev Seneca White, *Bath.*
Rev S L Pomeroy, *Bangor.*
Brunswick.

John Dunlap,
David Dunlap
Rev T C Upham,
Hallowell.

Rev S Everett
Rev E Gillett, D D
Kennebunk Port.

Charles A Lord
Daniel W Lord
Rev J P Fessenden
Rev C H Kent

Kennebunk.

C W Williams
Rev N H Fletcher
Rev D Thurston, *Winthrop.*
Portland.

Rev S Tenbrook
Rev Mr Ripley
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Samuel Glaize,
James Boal,
John Reves,
Isaac Coe,
Samuel C. Sample,
James S. Coalscott,
James White,
Daniel P. Wiggins,

P. G. Kennett,

T. Spalding,
N. R. Fitzhugh,
J. Polk,
Benjamin Homans,
Mrs. Brooke,
William B. Magruder,

Aaron Phule,
Charles Page,
William Mechlin,
Francis T. Sewall,
Mrs. Susanna Southern,
Richard W. Claxton.

☞ We shall be thankful for any additions or corrections to the above list.